PLACE IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN WEST IN WESTERN FILMS

by

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B.S., Kansas State University, 2003
M.A., Kansas State University, 2005

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Geography
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2016

Abstract

Hollywood Westerns have informed popular images of the American West for well over a century. This study of cultural, cinematic, regional, and historical geography examines place imagery in the Western. Echoing Blake's (1995) examination of the novels of Zane Grey, the research questions analyze one hundred major Westerns to identify (1) the spatial settings (where the plot of the Western transpires), (2) the temporal settings (what date[s] in history the Western takes place), and (3) the filming locations. The results of these three questions illuminate significant place images of the West and the geography of the Western.

I selected a filmography of one hundred major Westerns based upon twenty different Western film credentials. My content analysis involved multiple viewings of each Western and cross-referencing film content like narrative titles, American Indian homelands, fort names, and tombstone dates with scholarly and popular publications.

The Western spatially favors Apachería, the Borderlands and Mexico, and the High Plains rather than the Pacific Northwest. Also, California serves more as a destination than a spatial setting. Temporally, the heart of the Western beats during the 1870s and 1880s, but it also lives well into the twentieth century. The five major filming location clusters are the Los Angeles / Hollywood area and its studio backlots, Old Tucson Studios and southeastern Arizona, the Alabama Hills in California, Monument Valley in Utah and Arizona, and the Santa Fe region in New Mexico. The filming locations spotlight majestic mountain backgrounds, impressive rock formations, dangerous deserts, sweeping plains, and place-less urban backlots.

The quintessential Western is spatially set in southeastern Arizona in the 1880s and is filmed in Monument Valley. Utilizing Meinig's (1965) Core-Domain-Sphere concept, the genre's place-image core resides in southeastern Arizona. The Western domain includes the

Borderlands, High Plains, Sierra Nevada, Slickrock Country, and central New Mexico. The sphere of Western imagery extends outward to Los Angeles, Dodge City, Mexico, Canada, and Spain. Following Wright (2014), the Western's typical boundaries are the Missouri Breaks (north), Indian Territory (east), the Borderlands (south) and gold mining in the Sierra Nevada (west).

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Acknowledgements

Writing a dissertation from conception to completion does not typically take people over a decade, but that is how this one turned out and across the eleven years it took me to go from Kevin Blake's Western Landscapes graduate seminar to writing this acknowledgement, a large number of people have helped me along the way. I want to acknowledge many of them here.

Thank you Kevin Blake, Jeffrey S. Smith, Bimal K. Paul, and James E. Sherow for agreeing to serve on my graduate committee, for staying with me throughout my long candidacy, for helping me produce a dissertation worthy of a PhD, and for aiding my growth in key areas along the way.

Thank you, Bimal, for opening my eyes to the world of Human Geography in your GEOG 200: Human Geography class you taught during my first semester at Kansas State University.

Thank you, Professor Sherow, for educating me in the areas of New Western History, professionalism, and for asking me challenging questions.

Thank you, Jeff, for signing on to be my co-major advisor to keep my committee together when it could have disbanded. Your assistance with Mexico (*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* especially) and Spanish translations proved insightful as did your GEOG 620: Mexico, Central America and Caribbean course. Thanks for the short tutorial of Adobe Illustrator and the useful preliminary exam question – I have kept my syllabus and will use it (and Illustrator) in the future.

Thank you, Matthew J. Gerike, for your assistance early in my tenure as a geography graduate student. You routinely provided me research I needed, geographic insights through

deeper thinking than I possess, GIS assistance, and a lot of friendship as you were an excellent role model to me.

Thank you, David Vail, for offering your HIST 533: History of the American West in Film and Literature course. It introduced me to Zane Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912), Etulain's (1999) *Telling Western Stories*, and *Powwow Highway* (1989).

Thank you, Karen De Bres, for your GEOG 780: Cultural Geography class, your assistance with *High Noon* (1952), and for helping me learn to appreciate Gary Cooper.

Thank you, Malobe Sampson, for assisting me in acquiring the Adobe Creative Cloud, without which my maps could not have been created.

Thank you, Barbara Halliwell, for sharing your knowledge of GIS with me. I appreciate you sacrificing your time to educate a greenhorn like me.

Thank you, J.M. Shawn Hutchinson and William Wetherholt, for providing me access to GIS software and assistance.

Thank you, Claire Mulliez and Javier D'Carlo Garcia, for your translation of a couple French language books.

Thank you, Charles J.G. Griffin and Tim Steffensmeier, for signing my tuition assistance requests, for without them I could not have afforded to finish my degree. Additional thanks to Charlie and Sarah Riforgiate for their encouragement to finish my dissertation.

Thank you, Aunt Cookie, for encouraging me to finish my dissertation. Thank you, Uncle Doug, for taking the proverbial reins from her when she passed away.

Thank you, Bethany, for using your Adobe Illustrator skills to create my maps and teach me how the software works. Maps are absolutely essential to this dissertation and without them (and you) I do not finish.

Lastly, thank you, Kevin, for being the John Ford of this dissertation. Thank you for offering your GEOG 870: Western Landscapes seminar in the Fall 2005 semester and for having us read Hausladen's (2003) article that served as the genesis of this dissertation. Your geographic insights, as well as your speaking and writing skills are always on display and a continual source of motivation and awe. Your encouragement and ceaseless patience with me through this decade long ordeal constantly impresses me. Because of that, thanks for believing that I would finish my degree even during the long stretches where my progress moved at a glacial pace. Undoubtedly you acted on my behalf behind the scenes making decisions and lobbying for me regarding things that I do not know about, so thank you for 'going to bat' for me in ways I'll never know. I have tried to thank people here that had a hand in at least one part of my dissertation, but you had a hand in all of it. If this were a film, you'd be the director and producer, and without you it truly does not happen. Thank you for all of this, more that I've forgotten to mention here, and your friendship as well.

Chapter 1 - Western Images from Western Cinema

In January of 1991, while the majority of Americans tuned in to the Persian Gulf War, my eyes were opened to another region of the world – the West. It all started as I was preparing for elementary school one morning when the local radio station read the sports trivia question of the day. The answer dealt with the Kansas City Chiefs and their appearance in Super Bowl I. After reporting this to my mother she picked up the phone and dialed the station. Somehow we were the seventh caller, we gave the correct answer, and for the first time in my life I actually won something: two tickets to see a movie called *Dances with Wolves* (1990). Accompanied by my older brother, I watched the three hour epic and left the theater with a funny feeling in the pit of my stomach. I did not know what to make of this slightly uncomfortable sensation at the time, but today I realize that *Dances with Wolves* changed how I viewed and thought about the Western, the West, and especially the plains frontier. The High Plains, a landscape that up to this film had in my mind lived up to its name (plain), was now something much more exhilarating. The picturesque and ceaseless grasslands, the buffalo hunt, and John Barry's sweeping score were part of the romantic allure of this film, and from that day on *Dances with Wolves* became the benchmark by which I compared all subsequent Westerns.

A Short History of the Western in Cinema

Hollywood churned out Westerns long before *Dances with Wolves* premiered in theaters. Beginning in 1903 with *The Great Train Robbery*, the Western's appeal skyrocketed to the point where in 1910 an astounding twenty percent of all American films were Westerns (Abel, 1998). The genre gained popularity through World War I and into the Roaring Twenties as audiences flocked first to see the works of director D. W. Griffith and the first cinema cowboy, G. M. "Broncho Billy" Anderson, then later Tom Mix (Johnson, 1996) and arguably the greatest silent

era cowboy, actor and director William S. Hart (Daly & Persky, 1990). The burgeoning status of the Western reached a new high point in 1931, when *Cimarron* became the first Western to win the Academy Award for Best Picture (Hausladen, 2003). The Great Depression, combined with Raoul Walsh's 1930 big-budget flop, *The Big Trail*, diminished Western movie production and especially the epic 'A' Western until an Irishman named John Ford made *Stagecoach*, a film that "singlehandedly resuscitated the Western as a viable A-class Hollywood genre in 1939, elevating it to critical and aesthetic respectability" (Schatz, 2003, p. 21). For the next three decades, the Western experienced its 'golden era' when it reigned as one of the most lucrative and popular genres in film (Johnson, 1996) and in doing so made actors like John Wayne and Clint Eastwood household names.

In the late 1970s, Wayne lost his fight with cancer and his demise exacerbated the Western's fall from prominence, which, for the most part, continued throughout the 1980s. Hollywood still produced Westerns during this period, but not nearly as prodigiously as during the golden era. In the 1990s, the Western experienced a sizeable but momentary rejuvenation in popularity, thanks in large part to the box office success and critical acclaim of *Dances with Wolves* and Eastwood's *Unforgiven* (1992). Due to heightened public interest in the genre, Hollywood green-lit a number of Westerns during the decade, though the number of releases fell far short of that of the golden era.

Over a century after *The Great Train Robbery*, the Western nevertheless remains a staple of American cinema. Though its popularity vacillates, it continues to provide a valuable repository of images showing how Hollywood represents America's outlook on a region of powerful myth and landscapes. This research explores that imagery through a geographic analysis of one hundred major Westerns like *The Searchers* (1956), *High Noon* (1952), *Shane*

(1953), *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1967) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969) to ascertain the place images of this cinematic region.[1]

Significance

Film is the most spatially mindful media form (Fuller, 2015) that offers a significant avenue for geographic scholarship because, as geographers Stuart Aitken and Leo Zonn (1994b) point out, "the very heart of geography – the search for our sense of place and self in the world – is constituted by the practice of looking and is, in effect, a study of images" (p. 7) and also because a sense of place can form purely through images (Adams, 2001). Zonn recommends that geographers seriously consider motion pictures because they "may seem at first to be eccentric topics, and yet they may reflect communal and individual visions of place; visions that are being transmitted to others through a wide array of intentions and which may eventually become integrated into individual place images" (1985, p. 44). If our regional imagery is affected by the media we encounter, then film presents geographers a wide array of significant research avenues to pursue. Therefore, the merit of this particular research is twofold: theoretical and applied.

Theoretical Significance

The theoretical value of this research into film lies in its applications to film geography and film studies, regional geography, and cultural geography. The study of Westerns as a popular culture artifact is significant in the subfield of film geography (Lukinbeal & Zimmermann, 2006) stretching into environmental history (Murray & Heumann, 2012). However, instead of the common singular cinematic analysis (Engel, 2004; Dell'agnese, 2005), this research analyzes one hundred major works of an entire film genre. As such, this study combines film studies,

[1] The filmography of one hundred major Westerns is located in Table 4-1.

cultural geography, and regional geography in a comprehensive review of the Western film genre.

This research is significant to the field of regional geography in that it identifies the images of the American West, a region known for “its bigness, its openness, its height” (Watson, 1976a, p. 21) as well as its wealth, wonderland, and wilderness (Runte, 1976). It increases our understanding of the West as a region with a distinct imprint of space and time. Film creates images of place and in turn images shape perceptions of the western environment (Worster, 2009), and through cinematic spatial and temporal markers, viewers develop a sense as to the dimensions and extent of this popular region. This regional study extends upon Meinig’s (1972) work on the West’s spatial boundaries and is similar to another regional examination that was reported in the *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* (Huat, 2008) that analyzed cinema in the tropics.

The theoretical contribution of this research in cultural geography relates to how media images clearly and definitively influence our social and personal images (Zonn, 1985). While these images can come from a large number of entertainment or even educational sources, motion pictures are unique in that they provide a much ‘richer’ experience than television (Gold, 1974) and can present the viewer with what Robert Riley (1997) calls a ‘vicarious landscape experience,’ whereby the “observed landscape leads to an internally experienced landscape that is far richer and more personal than the ‘real’ landscape” (p. 207). Therefore, the narratives of film possess the ability to directly influence our perceptions of place and everything that inhabits that place. It also shows how in the absence of personal experience with a certain location, we will adopt and internalize the place images we come into contact with, even those that are

fictitious. A film's creators have the power to represent or misrepresent a location through the visual medium, and in doing so are able to cast fiction as truth.

This research also serves as an extension of three previous cultural geography works. Geographer Kevin Blake's (1995) analysis of the spatial, temporal, landscape, and cultural imagery in fifty-five Zane Grey Western novels finds that Grey set a significant number of his stories in northern Arizona and southern Utah (particularly around the Mogollon Rim), establishing that region as the quintessential West. Although the majority of Grey's Westerns were set during the nineteenth century, one third of them took place after the year 1900, thereby stretching the temporal boundaries well into the early 1930s. Like Blake's, this research extends what we know about the region by delving into the question, 'when and where is the quintessential cinematic West'?

Following Blake, Valerie Sebestyen (2001) continues the spatial and temporal setting analysis by identifying thirteen regions based on place image themes found in 120 Newbery Award-winning children's books. This dissertation mirrors these two scholars in its spatial and temporal analysis of fiction, but through the medium of film instead of literature.

The third work this research builds upon is geographer Gary Hausladen's (2003) analysis of Western filming locations. However, Hausladen's findings prove troublesome in a couple of ways that warrant deeper investigation of each Western filming location. First, Hausladen lists "no location data" for six of the one hundred films in his data set, but *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), which appears to have been shot on location, was filmed somewhere. Second, Hausladen does not indicate which filming location is most important for movies filmed in several locales. He lists Arizona, California, and Utah as the filming locations for *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976) but fails to rank each filming locale on its importance to the plot or action in the movie. It

is important to rank the filming locations to identify what places and images filmmakers portray as most central to the West, and potentially most memorable to the viewer.

Finally, the interplay of cinema, Westerns, and geography is significant because Americans are voracious consumers of mass media. The constant bombardment of images and information serves as a primary source of knowledge about the world and places they visit, dream about, and in which they live. Image overload can "change our relationship to the world outside TV" to where "we cease to compare images to places but compare images to images – judging things in terms of their representations" (Crang, 1998, p. 95). Geographer Chris Lukinbeal (1995) contends that "Americans acquire much of their knowledge of the world from the visual media rather than from reading" and that "television and cinema have become the most dominant forms," (p. 19) though the Internet and social media warrant mention as well.

Applied Significance

In addition to its academic significance, this research also benefits society in two applied areas: education and tourism. Education is an entrenched research trend in cinematic geography. Cons' (1959) article in *The Geographical Magazine* is one of the first to suggest using film as a pedagogical tool, and others see how it could benefit in teaching economic geography (Harris, 1964). More recently the trend produced the 2002 "Teaching Cinematic Geographies I" special issue in the *Journal of Geography*, and the third section in the edited book *Engaging Film: Geographies of Mobility and Identity* (Cresswell & Dixon, 2002).

Cinematic geography research uses film and television to conduct a wide range of studies, some critical (Youngs & Jenkins, 1984; Natter, 2002; Staddon et al., 2002), historical (Lukinbeal, 2002), experimental (Jenkins & Youngs, 1983), racial (Natter, 2002; Aitken, 2003), practical (Strohmayer, 2002) and even humorous (Alderman & Popke, 2002), while others

explore cultural and political biases (Aitken 1994), the myth of documentary realism (Gold, 2002), regional television portrayals (Collins & Sawyer, 1984), contradictory film representations (Gold & Gold, 2002), the complexity of cinematic urban landscapes (Brigham & Marston, 2002), field-based simulations of mass media image formation (Gold, Haigh, & Jenkins, 1993), cultural identity (Aitken, 2003; Algeo, 2007) and even the "cultural turn" (Smith, 2002b). Many of these research focuses could be utilized to study the American West, and this research aligns with a number of them, including studying Westerns to identify regional portrayals of place, film representations, and cultural identities. From regional analyses in geography to narrative construction in film studies, educators could question the implications of how we view the American West in film. For example, how do the images of this region reflect the perception of the area in which people live? The results of this scholarship could be used to create a class titled "Geography of the West in Film." It could also be included as a unit of study in a semester long "Geography of the West" class like those taught at institutions like Kansas State University (GEOG 510) or at Montana State University (Geography 503).

Second, since our perceptions drive and shape the images we associate with a person, place, or thing, and if these images are instrumental in determining our use of a place, then tourism would be impacted by this work. A major crux of this research is to define the cinematic West, a West with which many Americans (and some foreigners) are familiar. Identifying the filming locations of one hundred major Westerns is valuable marketing information for tourist destinations, such as Monument Valley (Arizona and Utah), the Alabama Hills (California), Marfa (Texas), or Old Tucson Studies (Arizona). This data may assist a tourism industry keen on reaping the economic benefits of promoting itself as a 'restorative sanctuary' (Wyckoff & Dilsaver, 1995b). Of additional significance is the question, are there clusters of settings in

places that are not currently major tourist destinations? If so, these places may use this study to attract future tourists.

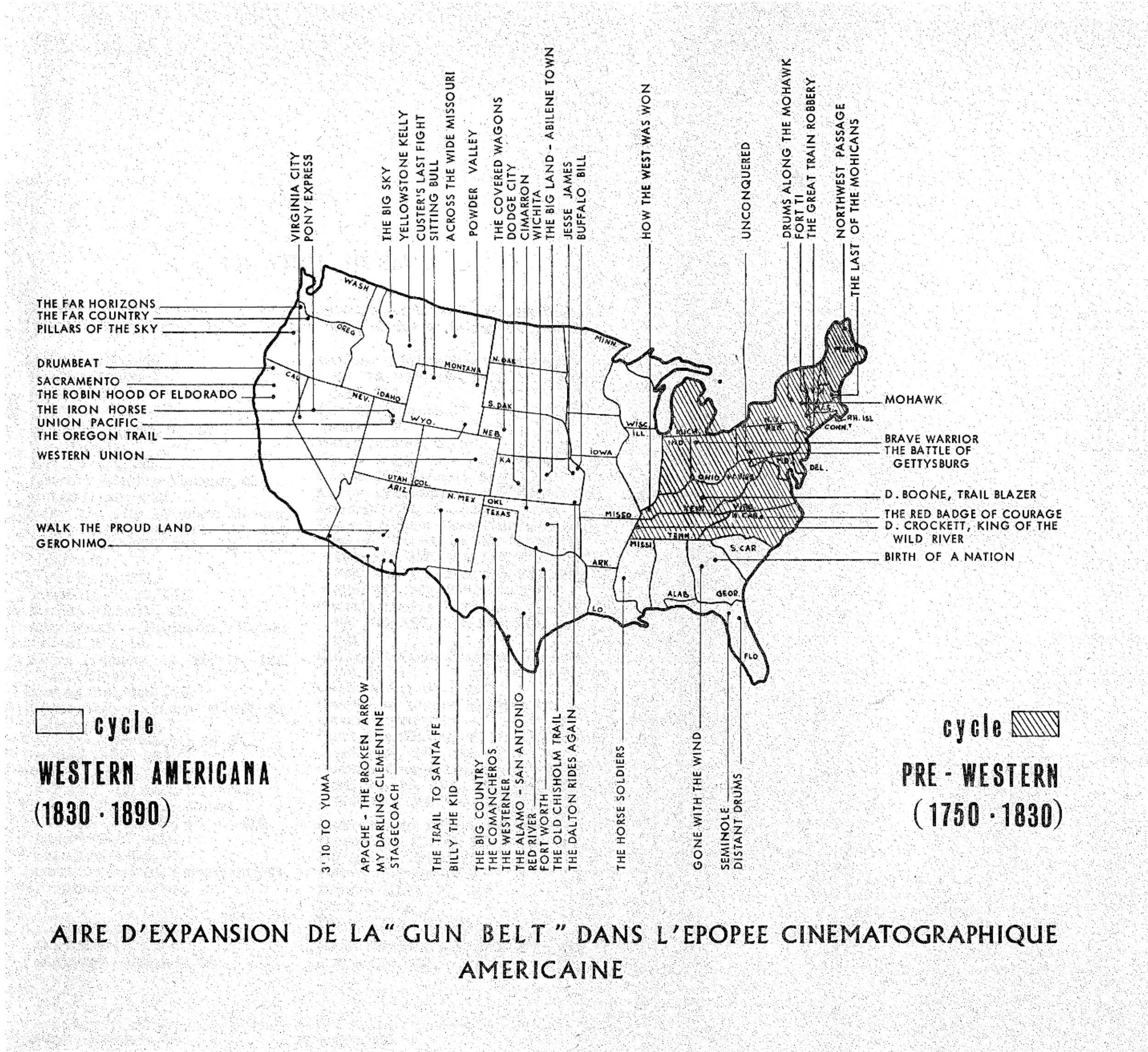
Research Questions

Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977, p. 85) writes that "myth is often contrasted with reality. Myths flourish in the absence of precise knowledge." Nowhere is this statement more applicable than the West. Many components of a Western hail from myth because of an acute lack of knowledge (or an unwillingness by filmmakers to accept it) about a specific place and time. The spatial setting, the place where the plot or action of a Western transpires (Lefebvre, 2006), is typically an unknown or fictitious rural area, wilderness, or small town. According to Phillip French (1977) in *Westerns: Aspects of a Movie Genre*, the geographical boundaries of the Western are "west of the Mississippi (River), south of the 49th Parallel and north of the Rio Grande (River)" (p. 24). Though unstated, French's western-most boundary includes the Pacific coast and California, a statement ridiculed by historian Robert Athearn when he said "I wouldn't let California into the West with a search warrant" (quoted in Morris, 1993, p. 52). For Michele Morris, the West is a single yet ambiguous place with its eastern border "somewhere between the Mississippi and the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains" and the western border the "Cascade Mountains of Oregon and Washington and the Sierra Nevada of California" (p. 51). For all three observers the West exists solely within the United States. Moreover, in all three descriptions the spatial settings are qualified merely as boundaries, meaning that they are not mapped.

To date, the only spatial mapping of Western film settings has been done by French scholars. French film critic Jean-Louis Rieupeyrout (1964) maps the spatial settings of 60 Hollywood Westerns released from 1894-1963 (Figure 1-1) and he confines his map to the lower

48 states. Unfortunately, Rieupeyrout does not include a map key or table indicating the exact location of each spatial setting.

Figure 1-1: "'The Gun Belt' in Epic American Westerns" (Rieupeyrout, 1964)



Much more ambitious in scale is French geographer Jacques Mauduy and his partner Gerard Henriet's (1989) map of Western spatial settings that analyze 411 Westerns (Figure 1-2) and 191 filming locations (Figure 1-3). Unfortunately, the authors do not include a table of the 191 Westerns they examined but they do offer some interesting graduated circle maps that I will compare to my results.

Figure 1-2: Mauduy and Henriet's (1989) Spatial Settings Map of 411 Westerns

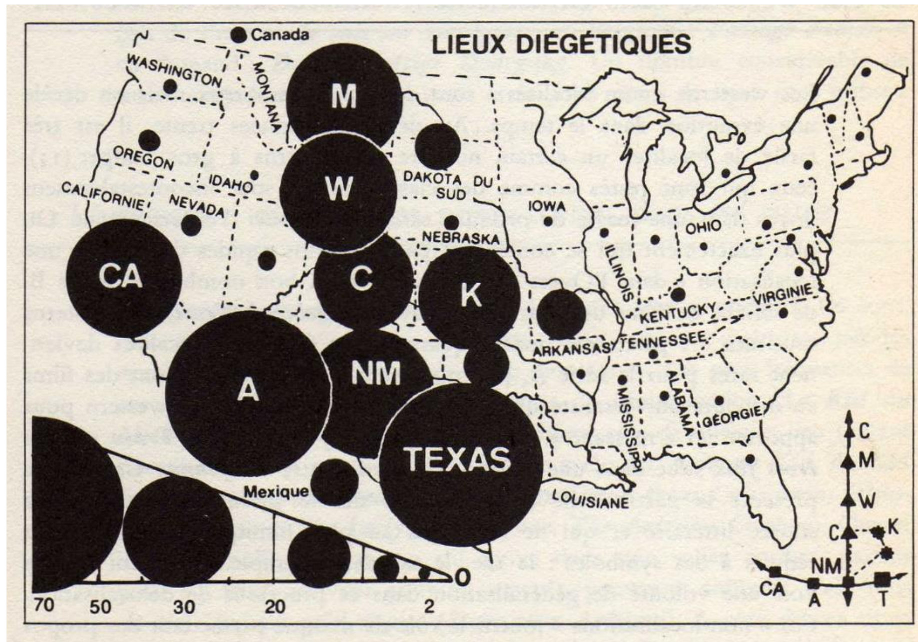
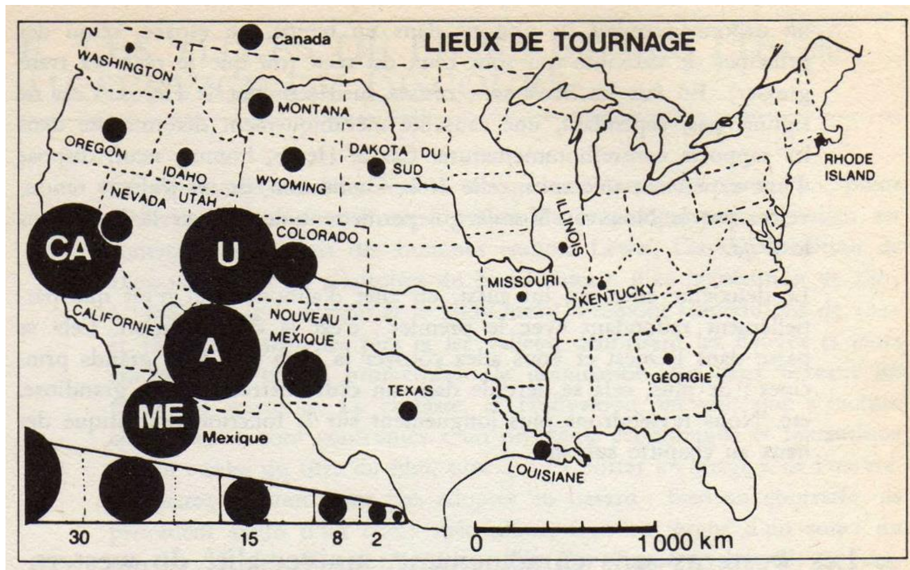


Figure 1-3: Mauduy and Henriet's (1989) Filming Locations Map of 191 Westerns



I do not know what films Mauduy and Henriet consult in their analysis, but with over four hundred in their filmography it is safe to assume they consider multiple 'B' Westerns[2].

[2] The 'B' Western is defined in chapter 3.

However, not every Western's spatial setting is located in the U.S., some have been set in Mexico (e.g., *The Magnificent Seven*), or Canada (e.g., *The Far Country* [1955]) or even Australia (*Quigley Down Under* [1990]). Mauduy and Henriet's spatial settings map does include a tally of Mexico and Canada Westerns but French and Morris do not mention these countries. The aforementioned studies examination of multiple 'B' Westerns, or disregard for spatial settings outside the United States, prompts my first geographic research question:

Research Question #1: Where are the spatial settings for major Westerns?

The product of this first research question will come in two forms: (1) a listing of the spatial settings for all Westerns in the filmography, and (2) a map to visually pinpoint the spatial settings, similar to Rieupeyrout's and Blake's respective maps. Shapiro's (2005) article is of consequence to the mapping of these settings when he asserted that classic Westerns, John Ford's entries specifically, generate an 'ethnogenesis' – an ethnically (Euro American) privileged and territorial right to practice Manifest Destiny across the continent, a reminder that many Westerns are metaphors for nation building. Where on the map that nation is conceived in the mind of the audience is of prime importance here and, thus, makes mapping those locations all the more pertinent.

While scholars have examined the frontier's spatial boundaries, scholarship identifying *when* the Western takes place, or what I call the temporal setting, has not been as common, and it appears to be derived more from empirical observations rather than systematic study. Solidifying the Old West's birth proves a tough task because multiple Old Wests exist (Johnson, 1996). Ascertaining the Old West's demise is no less troublesome when one considers the region as "an

idea that became a place" (Milner, 1994, p. 3). Historian Patricia Limerick (1987) eloquently articulates this quandary when she writes "There is simply no definition of 'the closing of the frontier' that is anything but arbitrary and riddled with exceptions and qualifications" (p. 23). One possible watershed moment is in 1890 when the U.S. Census Bureau declares the frontier closed because the population of the West exceeded two persons per square mile (Simonson, 1963), a fact that Frederick Jackson Turner (1894) incorporates a few years later into his essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," arguably the most historically influential writing of the nineteenth century (Smith, 1950). His thesis celebrates the "frontier experience as the most significant ingredient of American history and culture" (Etulain, 1999, p. 30), that "American national character was forged on the frontier" (Zelinsky, 1992, p. 33).

Turner's frontier thesis continues to influence western images well over a century later. Daly and Persky (1990) calculate the Old West to extend 28 years, between the Civil War's end in 1865 and Turner's essay in 1893. Jim Kitses (1969) and Janet Walker, in her introduction to Westerns in the 2001 AFI Film Readers Series, maintain that the Western lives between the Civil War's end and 1890. Will Wright (1975) writes that "the crucial period of settlement in which most Westerns take place lasted only about thirty years, from 1860 to 1890" (p. 5). Other estimates are more generous, citing Kit Carson's search for a woman in 1849 as a possible beginning and the 1890 death of Teton Sioux leader Sitting Bull as the ending (Simmon, 2003). While French (1977) posits the Western stretched from the Alamo in 1836 through World War I, its birth has been pushed back as far as the early 1800s (Cherpitel, 2012).

The majority of these scholars are merely estimating the West's lifetime, but what is the lifespan of the mythic West as it is portrayed in film? Do the temporal settings of the earliest Westerns predate the nineteenth century? Might the genre extend well past French's WWI

estimate and into the present day? A present-day Western is one that is spatially set in the West, but temporally exists today or when it was released in theaters. These films engender the idea that Old West adventures are still waiting to be experienced in remote areas of the West that remain relatively undisturbed by civilization. Or these could be films that portray a modern-day showdown pitting Old West lifestyles against New West technologies and economies.

These previous works have, for the most part, side-stepped the question of exactly when each Western takes place, and as a result these divergent views point to my second research question:

Research Question #2: How is the West temporally defined in major Westerns?

The second research question results in a listing of the temporal settings for all Westerns in the filmography and complements the spatial settings listing. These spatial and temporal questions represent a significant portion of this research, but the Western contains one other geographic aspect worthy of analysis through a spatial and temporal lens, and that is the filming location. Although the spatial setting represents where in the West the film portrays, the filming location is simply where the movie was captured on celluloid.

An integral part of film geography is the crisis of representation (Lukinbeal & Zimmermann, 2006). Filmmakers must decide how to present a place, people, or culture to the audience, and though economics and the uneven development and diffusion of the film industry influence this decision (Lukinbeal, 1998), it is essentially an issue of mimesis. Mimesis is "the belief that we should strive to produce as accurate a reflection of the world as possible" (Duncan & Ley, 1993, p. 2). When filmmakers choose one particular version of reality, they project a

convergence of the ‘real’ world and the ‘reel’ world, and possibly conflate these for the viewer. Las Vegas, and Nevada in general are examples of this, whereby the popular images are of “a benign oasis filled with neon promising luck, glamour, and adventure, or it was a sleazy place populated by criminals, gamblers, and prostitutes, with little hope and plenty of broken dreams” (Menendez, 2002, p. 40).

In popular culture, Monument Valley is a location that is strongly tied to the mythic West, and conjures images of John Wayne-like cowboys, American Indians, and Marlboro Man advertisements (Riley, 1997; Steiner & Wrobel, 1997). Though it initially appeared in George B. Seitz’s adaptation of Zane Grey’s *The Vanishing American* (1925) (Slatta, 2001; Gaberscek, 2006a), John Ford in credited with establishing Monument Valley, a visually remarkable yet remote area of the Navajo Reservation that straddles the Utah and Arizona border, as arguably the most iconic Western film location. “With loving care and exemplary rigour” (Leutrat & Liandrat-Guigues, 1998, p. 167), Ford shot nine films in this picturesque area, starting with *Stagecoach* and ending with *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964) (Grant, 2003). Due to its cultural prominence and picturesque landscapes, Monument Valley is a likely candidate to portray the quintessential Western film location. But are other locations, perhaps less picturesque or less readily identifiable by name, also prominent filming locales? The aforementioned Hausladen book chapter identified the filming locations of one hundred major and representative Westerns and how these places “influence how Americans perceive the West as a reflection of cultural and national values” (2003, p. 296). However, Hausladen’s work is incomplete. It lists six Westerns as having “no location data,” and Hausladen does not specify among the films with multiple locations which filming location is most prominent or memorable. A listing of the primary filming location is important because in a place image study the landscape that receives the most

screen time has the greatest potential to impact the viewer's image of the West. In the past two decades there has been a trend away from filming in recognizable and iconic areas and instead filmmakers have moved toward shooting in more homogenous and comparatively drab looking locations that lack the grandiose identifying physiographic features of the Vasquez Rocks in California or Monument Valley's "mittens" buttes or "totem pole."

Selecting a filming location depends greatly on achieving the 'look' of the West. What factors contribute to this aesthetic ideal image? Walter Prescott Webb (1931) names a key Western element when he notes that the Great Plains is a region distinctive from the eastern U.S. in multiple ways, but notably for its aridity. Stegner (1987) proclaims that "aridity, and aridity alone, makes the various Wests one" (p. 8) and is the single unifying link that ties the region together. The portrayal of the West as a harsh, arid, and thus forbidding landscape is a common Western vista, but so too are rolling grasslands (Athearn, 1986) and mountains (Wyckoff & Dilsaver, 1995a). Analyzing a Western's filming locations is also necessary because for two centuries the West has been portrayed in literature as a "spiritually pure" place (Cosgrove, 1984, p. 186). With literature being the basis for much of Western cinema in the last century, it is expected that the landscapes used as filming locations may be imbued to some extent with these same images and qualities.

Location scouts may attempt to identify locations that may 'double' for the spatial setting of the film, and these substitute locations create a misrepresentation. Westerns commonly employ these doubled locations and perpetuate misrepresentations, and since the power of film resides in its ability to fabricate and misrepresent (Hopkins, 1994), a film location and spatial setting comparison of the study data set (filmography) is important to illustrate what these incoherencies mean for Western cinema imagery.

This third research aspect involves analyzing the filming locations juxtaposed with the setting where the film takes place. Some Westerns are not set in the areas where they are filmed. For instance, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* is set in New Mexico but was filmed on another continent, in Spain. This divergence begs the question, why is it that moviemakers choose not to film a Western near its spatial setting? While the answer undoubtedly involves economics (budget, time, availability, and distance limitations), geographic implications exist that present a deeper understanding of the images that Americans associate with the West, which leads to my third research question:

Research Question #3: Where are the filming locations for major Westerns?

The results of this third research question are presented with: (1) a listing of the filming locations, similar to Hausladen's, for all Westerns in the filmography, and (2) a map to visually pinpoint the filming location(s) of each Western.

One of the chief objectives of human geography is to study place, and although this research examines a popular region of North America called the West, each individual Western situates the action in unique places. Cresswell (2015) contends that place is "a way of seeing, knowing, and understanding the world" (p. 11); therefore, the goal of these research questions is to explore the images of place created by Westerns, and this culminates in the final research question:

Research Question #4: How do these spatial and temporal definitions in Westerns affect place images of the region?

The findings of the first three research questions culminate in this fourth research question, the product of which is to reveal and discuss the major place images of the West that spring from the spatial and temporal results of one hundred major Westerns.

Zonn's (1985) place image model theorizes one way that people build images or how they view various places around the world. People receive information in two ways, directly and indirectly. Anyone who has visited Old Tucson, hiked up Colorado's Pikes Peak, or camped in Monument Valley has directly acquired information about those three places. Those who visit these places through a medium such as film or television obtain their information indirectly. Through Riley's (1997) aforementioned 'vicarious'[3] landscape experience, when a tourist sees an image, like a Monument Valley postcard of the Mittens buttes, he may close his eyes and see "vistas of mustangs galloping across wide-open spaces under immense, unclouded skies" (Worster, 1992, p. 79) or fancy himself Captain Nathan Brittles leading his troop patrol through hostile Cheyenne territory as John Wayne did in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), one of the first Westerns to display Monument Valley in color. The West is the most strongly imagined region of the U.S. (White, 1991) and viewing the postcard landscape acts as "a cuing device that produces an imagined, affective landscape" (Riley, 1997, p. 208), much like how listening to the William Tell Overture can spark images of the 1950s television series *The Lone Ranger*. This vicarious landscape experience directly influences place image formation, thus it is critical that scholars pay close attention to the details of media that evoke these vicariously imagined landscapes.

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[3] Riley also refers to the vicarious landscape experience as a 'fantasy landscape' or an 'internal landscape narrative.'

With both the spatial and the temporal data, it is possible to address what is the quintessential Western film spatial and temporal setting? How are the settings and resulting images different from previous research studies like that of Meinig (1972) and Nugent (1992)? Is the Western mostly confined to the American West? Is it beholden to the nineteenth century or does it differ from previous studies (Wright, 1975; Daly & Persky, 1990)? If not, how do the images from films set in Mexico or Canada, or along the borderlands, differ from those set in the U.S.? Does the genre extend into the twentieth century and spotlight "New Westers" (Johnson, 1996)?

With filming locations, do Monument Valley and the Alabama Hills reign as the quintessential Western film locations (Hausladen, 2003), or have other locales flourished? What images do these vistas communicate to viewers about the West? This last research question addresses the place imagery in Westerns through the cinematic use of place, time, and filming location.

Method / Research Design

This study involves a three-part content analysis. First, a qualitative examination of each film's narrative identifies the spatial and temporal markers. These methods have been used by other scholars. The aforementioned French scholars Rieupeyrout (1964), and Mauduy and Henriet (1989), examine the spatial settings of Westerns, but their analyses involve 'B' Westerns, which are not as well known or available to an American audience, and therefore would not be a major supplier of place images. Furthermore, Stier (2006) identifies the filming locations for 'A' and 'B' Westerns produced over a fifty year stretch (1929-1979). However, Stier does not label which locations were the background for the majority of the narrative, which

is important because the primary film location is what feeds viewers with most of their images of what the West *should* look like.

Some Westerns deliberately say at the beginning of the film where or when the film is set (e.g.: *The Ox-Bow Incident* [1943], *The Searchers*), but others like *High Noon* are intentionally vague or obscure when it comes to identifying their spatial or temporal settings. As such, I will consult prior research on the film (for a spatial setting) or completed research on historical events mentioned within the narrative that provide information on a film's temporal setting. I will triangulate my initial findings with other sources to ensure accuracy and specificity. For example, if a film takes place during the 1870s, I attempt to identify an approximate date (e.g.: circa 1874). If a film takes place in a state, then I will try to narrow it down to the nearest settlement or physiographic location, like the Rio Grande, the Chisholm Trail, or even Mount Hood. And in the absence of such research I will enlarge the scale from a specific location to a bigger region like "West Texas" or in the case of *Silverado* (1985), a "southwest cattle town." More sources exist for film locations than for spatial or temporal settings and include scholarly works in history and geography as well as Reeves (2006), Hellmann & Weber-Hof (2006 & 2007), the aforementioned Stier (2006), and the informal and unverified 'film locations' section of the Internet Movie Database website.

The final part of the study is to see patterns in spatial settings, temporal settings, or film locations that can help me answer the fourth research question on the influence of Westerns on place images. What images of the West are presented to the viewer as a result of the findings? How could these images drive how viewers think about and react to the region? How has the American West been molded by these films?

Chapter Overview

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. Chapter two functions as a literature review that looks at the theoretical framework of the research, as well as the evolution of cinematic film geography that includes tracing its roots and its development into a viable research avenue. The chapter concludes with a selection of four research areas pertinent to this dissertation. Chapter three involves an examination of the Western film genre and chapter four discusses the filmography of one hundred major Westerns and details the process for selecting each film.

Chapters five, six, and seven contain the results from my analysis of the filmography. Specifically, chapter five contains the spatial setting, temporal setting, and filming location results. Chapter six discusses the findings and chapter seven concludes the dissertation by providing five insights.

Chapter 2 - Cinematic Geography

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                  COBB
What brings you to my saloon?

                  PADEN
Luck, I guess.

                  COBB
         (Cackles.)
Good old Paden. I was hoping maybe you'd
changed your mind about the job.

                  PADEN
You didn't tell me you owned a saloon.

                  COBB
Oh, that ain't the half of it, friend.
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Cobb chuckles as he pulls back the lapel of his overcoat to reveal a shiny,
silver sheriff's star.
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                  SHERIFF COBB
Welcome to heaven.
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-Screenplay to *Silverado*

The final line of this exchange between the sheriff of Silverado, Cobb (Brian Dennehy), and his old riding buddy, Paden (Kevin Kline), frequently comes to mind when I consider my dissertation topic. Conducting research on Westerns is an exciting experience that any fan of John Wayne, Henry Fonda, or Clint Eastwood would enjoy, but how did film geography originate and develop to the point where it could be the focus of a dissertation?

This chapter examines major themes in cinematic geography in an attempt to frame how geography has viewed and adopted film as a research tool through the years. And while the Western has existed for more than a century, geographic research into film (let alone other avenues of popular culture) has only been around for about thirty years, though its genesis can arguably trace back as far as John Wright's 1947 Association of American Geographers presidential address.

Place and Image

In his address, Wright talks about an informal type of geography, located on the periphery of geographic research, that includes the "subjective geographical conceptions of the world which exist in the minds of countless ordinary folk" (Wright, 1947, p. 10). Imagination is central to the work of cultural geographers (Cosgrove, 1994) and included in Wright's conceptions of the world are images of place. I define 'image' much like Boulding (1956), as a mental picture produced from our experiences, attitudes, memories, and immediate sensations. As Edward Relph (1976) writes, "images are not just selective abstractions of an objective reality but are intentional interpretations of what is or what is believed to be" (p. 56). Our mental images are derived and continually shaped and molded by our life experiences.

Kevin Lynch (1960) examines the prominent images people have of cities and finds that multiple sources help us generate our mental maps of place, among them print and the mass media. David Lowenthal (1961) echoes this sentiment in his discussion of personal geographies when he writes that one does not need to visit a place; rather "it is enough to have heard of it in some meaningful connection, or even to have imagined (rightly or wrongly) that it exists, on the basis of linguistic or other evidence" (p. 248). Lowenthal's paper is significant because it was one of the first to favor "sensory perception and cognition" instead of "social and cultural ways of knowing" the world (Lukinbeal, 2005). I contend that film qualifies as Lowenthal's 'other evidence', especially Westerns, where much of what filmmakers imagine on screen is both right and wrong in terms of spatial setting and filming location "incoherencies" (Lefebvre, 2006).

Two decades after Wright, J. Wreford Watson (1969) takes the idea a step further when he writes that "mental images should be of prime importance to the study of geography," because "the mental picture a man has about a region will qualify his use of it" (p. 10). Watson's point is

that our mental images of place drive how we think of and use (or abuse) a region or place on earth. In his presidential address to the Institute of British Geographers, Watson (1983) exhorts geographers to take up literature as a primary source material for the study of images and the soul of geography.

In his decisive work *Place and Placelessness*, Relph (1976) identifies a variety of ways in which people experience a place. Of importance here is his discussion of vicarious insideness, where "through travel accounts or motion pictures or any other medium, we can indeed enter far into other worlds and other places that are sometimes real and sometimes fantasy" (p. 53). Since much of what we know of the world comes from secondary information and not firsthand experience or knowledge (Ittelson, et al., 1974), Relph's element of fantasy has to be one of the reasons why the popularity of motion pictures endures. But how does the audience experience place while watching a movie? More specifically, how can a viewer experience a place like Mount Hood, without physically visiting the tallest mountain in Oregon? This can be achieved by watching film, or what Lukinbeal (1995) calls entering the filmic world. The filmic world is a place that is forged by all the representations of a film, and contrasts the life-world that is the summation of all human experiences (Lukinbeal, 1995). Put another way, in the life-world a person faces objects that are *present*, while in the filmic-world a character on screen faces objects that are *represented*. All told, the viewer's task is to interpret an interpretation (Stadler, 1990). Therefore, climbing Mount Hood would qualify as a life world experience, while watching Jimmy Stewart and Rock Hudson traverse the mountain in director Anthony Mann's *Bend of the River* (1952) would qualify as a filmic world experience and also grant the viewer Relph's vicarious insideness.

Geography and the Mass Media

John Gold was one of the first, and most prolific, geographers to pioneer and encourage the geographic study of mass media, especially the urban environment (Gold, 1985; Gold, 1987; Gold & Gold, 1990; Ford, 1994; Gold & Ward, 1994; Natter, 1994; Gold, 2001). Although Sack (1992) states that television "has powerful effects on geography" (p. 97), Gold argues that film provides a deeply moving experience, even going so far as to say cinema "provides a much 'richer' experience than television" (Gold, 1974, p. 18). Moviegoers are more likely to have a vicarious experience that is deeply moving since cinema can take us into other worlds that seem real (Relph, 1976; Riley, 1997). Cinema and television, as well as other media, provide sensory communion in a social context (Adams, 1992) that drives how we perceive and interpret place images.

In his paper titled "Communicating Images of the Environment," Gold (1974) proposes geographers study the mass media in three ways, one of which is to "regard content as a source of spatial data and then to apply methods of content analysis to draw inferences about geographic phenomena" (p. 27). Watching a Western to ascertain its spatial and temporal settings does precisely this because it allows the viewer to create images about where and when the West is located. Gold adds that the media's influence on image formation will be greatest for 'far places,' locations an individual has never visited.

Gold and others, notably Zonn and Jacquelin Burgess, advance geography's study of the mass media through the 1980s. The year 1985 proved to be a watershed year for both geographic mass media research and the Western. While Clint Eastwood revisits his roots for the first time in nine years with *Pale Rider* (1985) and Lawrence Kasdan attempts a genre resuscitation with

Silverado, Zonn (1985) creates a theoretical model of place image formation and Burgess and Gold (1985) publish their significant volume, *Geography, the Media and Popular Culture*.

Zonn's model explains that we form images due to direct (personal images and experiences) and indirect (media images) sources. He notes that the media image is as influential (and sometimes more so) as the personal image, especially when we have no direct experience with a place. In the article, Zonn examines images of Australia printed in *The National Geographic* from 1946-1984 and finds that biased imagery purports Australia to Americans and other non-Australians as "a vast and inhospitable land" with "unique creatures" and "a provocative native culture" (p. 44) while downplaying and discounting its urban characteristics. Zonn and Aitken (1994) found similar results in their essay examining how symbolic landscapes are utilized in the Australian film *Storm Boy* (1976) to "perpetuate and bolster a series of myths of male dominance in Australian culture" (p. 137). Zonn (1985) concludes his analysis of *The National Geographic* by stating that the manner of place presentation in the media, through its nature and character, is as important as the process of place formation itself. This is significant since Westerns undoubtedly contain place bias in all three areas of analysis (spatial setting, temporal setting, and film location). Western filmmakers purport mythic images of a region of the world that is already steeped in literary myth thanks to the thousands of nineteenth century Western dime novels and subsequent fiction of Owen Wister, Zane Grey, Max Brand, Louis L'Amour, Larry McMurtry, and many others (Brown, 1997).

Burgess and Gold (1985) state there are two 'schools' of media research – American and European. American studies are "concerned primarily with the effects of media on individual attitudes and behaviour (sic)" while the European school is "focused on the production of meaning and the relations of the media to other cultural and political forms" (p. 4). My study

aligns more with the American school of thinking, which is apropos since it involves the geographic study of the American West, a region that champions individuality. The authors assert that "there is an urgent need for theoretical debate about the ways in which environmental meanings and experience are shaped" (p. 1). Research into the images formed by vicariously watching Westerns addresses *what* is shaped but not the theoretical underpinnings of *how* the images are shaped. Nonetheless, this research is similar to work contained within Burgess and Gold's volume that examines the implications of natural disaster films (Liverman & Sherman, 1985) and explores how filmmakers in the interwar period (1919-1939) envisioned the future urban world as a "city of towers" (Gold, 1985, p. 140).

Zonn (1990) aligns with the European school in his collection of essays that are concerned with place portrayal in media and emphasize the production of meaning. The book is divided into four parts that analyzes photography, the written word, promotional imagery, and popular entertainment. Only two works comprise the last section. Alan Jenkins (1990) examines *Eating*, a documentary film on China, and Louis Woods and Charles Gritzner (1990) investigate place images in country music lyrics. Surprisingly, perhaps the most relevant essay to this research is Ervin Zube and Christina Kennedy's (1990) inspection of the changing images of the Arizona Territory. However, instead of analyzing selected films, the authors explore promotional material from various railroad companies and government agencies that target immigrants, investors, and tourists. They find that a wide range of images and illustrations not only changed as the Territory evolved, but also served as the first and possibly only images that Easterners and outsiders had of the Southwest and especially Arizona. Western film is now one substitute for nineteenth century promotional material and still serves as an important source for outsider information on the West.

Burgess (1990) argues "the media industry is participating in a complex, cultural process through which environmental meanings are produced and consumed" (p. 139) whereby the viewer decodes media texts rife with geographical messages and ideologies. She further argues that geographers should focus on decoding the production and consumption of environmental meanings in the mass media to help us "understand contemporary discourses about human-environment relations" (p. 139). My research focuses on the production side of Western mass media by analyzing place images.

An Influential Work

Burgess's call serves as a focal point for *Place, Power, Situation, and Spectacle: A Geography of Film*, a "revolutionary collection" (Escher, 2006, p. 307) of articles from editors Stuart Aitken and Leo Zonn (1994a). In their introductory essay (Aitken & Zonn, 1994b) they echo Burgess's claim that geographic research should focus on the production and consumption of space and place in cinema and also separate the 'reel' world (or the filmic world) from the 'real' world (or the life-world). Their discussion of contemporary realism aligns with Siegfried Kracauer's (1960) position that viewers are actively engaged in creating meaning as they watch a film, and are not simple, passive consumers of these images. In chapter three, Jeff Hopkins (1994) furthers this belief in his discussion of cinematic landscapes. He defines a cinematic landscape as "a filmic representation of an actual or imagined environment viewed by a spectator" (p. 49). Cinematic landscapes are "not neutral places of entertainment" but are "ideologically charged cultural creations whereby meanings of place and society are made, legitimized, contested, and obscured" (p. 47). This statement legitimizes film as an important and vital area of academic study, especially for cultural and regional geographers interested in the study of place.

Aitken and Zonn’s (1994a) book includes three articles that adopt a semiotic approach to geographic film study. Hopkins’s (1994) aforementioned study of cinematic places discloses that time, space, and geography create a ‘heterotopic’ film environment that blurs the ‘reel’ and the ‘real.’ Martyn Bowden (1994) discusses how imagined places (like the William Blake hymn ‘Jerusalem’) are conjured as metaphors for the British class struggle of the protagonists in the fleet-of-foot British films *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* (1962) and the Academy Award-winning *Chariots of Fire* (1981). Denis Wood (1994) describes the system of signs that defines the community shared by two warring factions, the ‘Socs’ and ‘Greasers’, in Francis Ford Coppola’s *The Outsiders* (1983).

Of additional interest in the book are two additional works. First, Arthur Krim’s (1994) ‘regional’ study of Route 66, as it is depicted in, among other works, John Ford’s adaptation of John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), is interesting since Route 66, perhaps the most famous highway in America, runs through much of the American West. What is the Route 66 of the cinematic Old West? While it would most likely be a famous trail, a stagecoach route or a mighty river could be the Western equivalent of a highway named for another Western star, Will Rogers. Regardless of the route, identifying the important travel routes in Westerns could provide significant place images of the region.

And second, Christina Kennedy’s (1994) transactional examination of the desert’s influence in the mythic evolution of T.E. Lawrence in *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) is noteworthy since a good portion of the American West is also desert. How do desert landscapes contribute to the evolution of Western characters and what place images do they provide?

Cinematic Geography Research Themes

The first geographic scholarship to examine film began with a series of articles in *The Geographical Magazine* (Aitken & Dixon, 2006) that examined the geographical aspects in U.S. films (Griffith, 1953), the art of film-making (Manvell, 1953), German film-making (Koval, 1954), documentary films (Manvell, 1956; Knight, 1957), and education (Cons, 1959). But in the wake of *Place, Power, Situation, and Spectacle* came discipline recognition and the proliferation of geographic film research. From 2002 through 2008 alone, six journals published special issues spotlighting the geographic analysis of film with a particular focus on "Cinematic Geographies" (*Geojournal*, vol. 59, 2004), "Teaching Cinematic Geographies" (*Journal of Geography*, vol. 101, 2002), film's cultural and political influence (*Erdkunde*, vol. 60, 2006), cinema's connections to geopolitics (*Geopolitics*, vol. 10, 2005), a broader examination of cinema and landscapes (*Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol. 23, 2005), and a narrower look at cinematic depictions of tropical urban landscapes (*Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 29, 2008).

Additionally, multiple research themes have continued or developed in the past thirty years. While geographic film research was conducted before *Place, Power, Situation, and Spectacle*, afterwards it became more diverse in scope. Major themes in cinematic geography scholarship that are pertinent to this research include representation and (mis)representation, mobility, identity, and landscape.

Representation and (Mis)Representation

Representation is a noteworthy issue that functions to "give back to society an image of itself" that "reinforces a set of societal structures that help individuals to make sense of their surroundings that are otherwise chaotic and random, and to define and locate themselves with

respect to those surroundings" (Aitken & Zonn, 1994b, p. 6). If film is meant to serve as a sort of compass, to represent and reflect back to the audience some image of reality, the representation's focus is derived by filmmakers, with greater control in the hands of auteur filmmakers. Auteur theory dictates that primary creative control and decision making lies with the film's director (Short, 1991). This breed of filmmaking spawned, for example, the films of John Ford and Sergio Leone's Spaghetti Westerns. With creative power centralized into fewer hands the likelihood of mis-representation increases, though it is still quite common, especially in Westerns, for an image on screen to be faked and then misinterpreted by the audience who then ascribe a sense of realness to the inaccurate image. The pairing of filming locations and spatial settings is a perfect example of this. Anyone familiar with Monument Valley will recognize it is the featured filming location for most of John Ford's Westerns, including what is arguably his greatest achievement, *The Searchers*. Though filmed in Monument Valley, the *The Searchers* diegesis / spatial setting is actually in Texas. Diegesis is simply "the world as it is evoked in a narrative film" and its components "include both the activities and places that make up the fictional world of the film" (Peckham, 2004, p. 421). The impact of mis-representation is profound since films do not reflect reality but images created by a small group of people that can be interpreted as reality by a much larger group of people (Baudry, 1974). Instead of reflecting reality these images work to create reality, giving it meaning, discourse, and an ideology (Aitken & Zonn, 1994a; Short, 1991).

The crisis of representation is an integral part of all film geography, not just Westerns (Lukinbeal & Zimmermann, 2006). Filmmakers decide how to present a place, people, or culture to the audience and though the uneven development and diffusion of the film industry will influence this decision (Lukinbeal, 1998), it is essentially an issue of mimesis. Mimesis is "the

belief that we should strive to produce as accurate a reflection of the world as possible" (Duncan & Ley, 1993, p. 2). If filmmakers choose to closely adhere to reality, then the 'real' world and the 'reel' world become tougher to differentiate for the viewer. Documentaries purport to be realistic and portray things as they appear to be (Burgess, 1994), but they are also rarely mimetic (Gold, 2002). The effects of this are important because visual representations create material effects in the real world (England, 2004) and can create (mis)representations of reality. In the minds of average Americans the word Scotland may spark the image of kilts, a small rural village, or parochial peoples – all of which populate the Oscar-winning movie *Braveheart* (1995). Gold and Gold (2002) asserts that Scotland is viewed this way because many of its images, especially popular ones like *Braveheart*, refer to a time in history that is no longer representative of most of the country. Yet filmmaker's predilections for trumpeting the tartanry and kailyard elements of Scotland's past continue to reduce the country to outdated stereotypes.

Differences in filming locations and spatial settings also perpetuate a misrepresentation. In Bollhofer's (2007) examination of German crime shows, he notes that residents of Dusseldorf, where one show was filmed, noticed images of their city presented as Cologne and these (mis)representations can influence a city's identity. On a more recognizable scale is the (mis)representation of the Petronas Towers in the movie *Entrapment* (1999), where the creators pieced images of riverside slums next to the Petronas Towers thereby creating a (mis)representation that sparked a Malaysian political outrage (Bunnell, 2004). Westerns contain possible (mis)representations and since the power of film may reside in its ability to fabricate and misrepresent (Hopkins, 1994), a spatial setting / filming location comparison of the filmography is important to demonstrate these incoherencies. Furthermore, some directors seek

to break these ‘false’ images, much like Scottish director Bill Forsyth’s films do by transcending and subverting the aforementioned stereotypes on Scottish culture (Aitken, 1991).

Mobility

Mobility is the study of moving things (Crowe, 1938) and is about “displacement – the act of moving between locations” (Cresswell, 2006, p. 2). It serves as an interesting geographic theme because while viewing film allows the audience to be transported to another place and time (like the shootout at the OK Corral between the Earp brothers and Ike Clanton’s gang), mobility in film usually points to the alteration or possibly the abandonment of key social institutions or practices (Cresswell & Dixon, 2002). The fascination in the U.S. with “all forms of mobility, an innate restlessness, is one of the prime determinants of the structure of American national character” (Zelinsky, 1992, p. 53). In some film genres mobility is linked to freedom (McHugh, 2005) as well as progress, opportunity, and modernity (Cresswell, 2006), but in Westerns the agent of transportation is telling. Horses are usually the main means of mobility, but eventually they are phased out in favor of railroads and the horseless carriage. Films with this image carry an elegiac message signaling the death of the Old West, the encroachment of civilization on the wilderness / frontier, or the advancement of the Industrial Revolution. It also offers viewers a landscape of nostalgia, what Riley (1994) defines as “an environment of saccharine comfort associated with a past life thought more simple and reassuring than today’s” (p. 147).

Another connection between mobility and film lies in travelogues (Ruoff, 2006), and the road movie genre, where film studies scholars map the cinematic roadway of *Thelma and Louise* (1991) (Conley, 2007) and geographers pinpoint the links between (wo)man, machine, and mobility found in *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Easy Rider* (1969), and *Thelma and Louise* (Crang,

1998). McHugh (2005) detours into the "fiction of placelessness" for his eloquent expose of the documentary *This is Nowhere* (2002), whereby he proffers that Walmart-scapes are not as placeless as the RV travelers in the film claim. Since certain Westerns, notably *Stagecoach*, *Winchester '73* (1950), and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), embody elements of the road movie through character mobility across the landscape of the West, this particular theme is salient to Western place image research.

Section one in *Engaging Film* documents the mobility of the viewer (Crang, 2002), a mobility / (a)morality connection in the film *Pulp Fiction* (1994) (Kirsch, 2002), and the world travels of a British amateur filmmaker (Nicholson, 2002).

Additional research targets mobility through the U.S. / Mexico borderlands. *Lone Star* (1996), an entry in the filmography, depicts the border as a physically and socially mobile place (Arreola, 2005), but Dell'agnese (2005) finds people north of the border can easily travel south of the border but those *al sur de la frontera* are not legally permitted *al norte de la frontera*. Do other Westerns corroborate Dell'agnese's borderland mobility dyad or will the region provide additional images that conjure identities?

Identity

Identity is a personal, social, and cultural creation. In film, identity is constructed through multiple categories such as "class, race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, age, and ability" (Cresswell & Dixon, 2002, p. 67). As such, cinematic geographers assess how the different elements of identity are constructed, most notably in section two of *Engaging Film*.

Stuart Aitken and Christopher Lukinbeal are stalwarts in film geography research, but they are especially prolific in one aspect of identity research: gendered analyses. They examine the patriarchal male myth in road films (Aitken & Lukinbeal, 1997), male hysteria and

voyeurism in three Gus Van Sant films (Lukinbeal & Aitken, 1998) and street myths, masculinities, and representations of hysteria in three Terry Gilliam films (Aitken & Lukinbeal, 1998). Aitken and Zonn (1993) adopt a transactional perspective in their investigation of masculine and feminine portrayals in Peter Weir's films *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975) and *Gallipoli* (1981).

The 2004 'Cinematic Geographies' special issue of *Geojournal*, edited by Lukinbeal and Zonn, contains articles that examine gender concepts in border films (Mains, 2004), male marginalization in David Fincher's *Fight Club* (1999) (Craine & Aitken, 2004), dialectical gendered discourse of the 'reel' and 'real' Wakulla Springs, FL wildlife preserve (Dixon & Grimes, 2004), and the emergence of the New West and its subsequent patriarchal decline with the death of Sam the Lion (Ben Johnson) in *The Last Picture Show* (1971) (Holmes, Zonn & Cravey, 2004). Research documenting the border area and the decline of the Old West are important to this study because they address contemporary Westerns like *Lone Star* and broaden work on this region of the continent, much like Christina Dando (2005) did in her *Boys Don't Cry* (1999) analysis where she found the Plains were represented as a masculine frontier.

Surprisingly, cinematic research into racial identity is not as prevalent as gender research, but work has been done analyzing race in border films (Mains, 2004). Two articles highlight race issues for pedagogical purposes: Wolfgang Natter (2002) uses three films to deconstruct the concept of 'whiteness' while Aitken (2003) employs two films depicting Los Angeles to show how ethnicity and family work to construct social and community identities. Gender and race are two vital identity aspects of Western narratives or conflicts and as a result could be the source of important place images for viewers.

Aitken (2003) extols ethnicity and how community and family can forge the social construction of identity in *American History X* (1998) and *Mi Familia* (1995) while others narrow the ethnic study to the intertextual depiction and identity of American Indians (Zonn & Winchell, 2002). Some researchers examine cultural difference and diversity (Smith, 2002a) and the peculiar interplay of sexuality, gender, and national identity in *The Crying Game* (1992) (Dahlman, 2002). Conflicting colonial identities arise from multiple interpretations of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (Robbins, 2002) while expressionistic thoughts of identity and modern space are found in 1920s German film (Schonfeld, 2002).

Westerns spotlight identity struggles involving individuals, (the titular John Dunbar who becomes *Dances with Wolves*), groups, (the sod-busters vs. the ranchers in *Shane*) and races (the ubiquitous American Indian / U.S. Army battles like those in John Ford's 'Cavalry Trilogy'). It will be important to see what additional images Westerns provide involving character mobility as well as identity formation and supremacy.

Landscape

Defining landscape to a geographer's satisfaction proves tricky and ultimately futile because of the difficulty involved in itemizing its parts (Tuan, 1979b). Some avoid defining it altogether (Appleton, 1986) because people view and attach different meanings to the same landscape. There are seasonal landscapes (Palang, Sooväli, & Printsmann, 2007), and Meinig (1979b) lists ten possible lenses people use to view landscape: nature, habitat, artifact, system, problem, wealth, ideology, history, place, and aesthetic. J.B. Jackson (1979) argues landscape is theater and Lukinbeal (2005) contends landscape as text is the dominant metaphor in film geography in the twenty-first century. And while all of those have merit, I think Cosgrove and Daniels (1988) provide the most cinematically relevant landscape definition for this research, "a

landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings" (p. 1). Regardless of point of view, landscape serves as a clue to understanding and interpreting a civilization's culture (Lewis, 1979) because film is a cultural artifact that represents its creators and misrepresents reality while symbolizing the world in which they live.

"All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players." This line from Shakespeare's comedy *As You Like It* is a metaphor for the connection between humans and the landscape. Around the time of Shakespeare, landscape was depicted through cartography, travel books, paintings, and theatre. Its use in theatre served more than setting, emphasizing the visual elements and the spectacle of mythical worlds (Jackson, 1979). Landscape in Westerns of the twentieth century and beyond accomplishes the very same thing.

Even centuries after Shakespeare, the landscape still serves an important canvas for geographers, but beyond artistry and cartography and into such areas as literature (Salter & Lloyd, 1977; Crang, 1998), television (Burgess, 1987; Gold, 1987; Higson, 1987), depiction and perception (Zonn, 1984), symbolism (Meinig, 1979a; Cosgrove, 1984; Appleton, 1986; Crang, 1998), iconography (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988), law (Mitchell, 2003), media image formation (Gold, Haigh, & Jenkins, 1993), nostalgia (Riley, 1994), and even fear (Tuan, 1979a). However, it was not until the 2005 special issue of the *Journal of Cultural Geography*, that geographers begin "engaging the cinematic landscape" (Lukinbeal & Arreola, 2005). Kenneth Helphand (1986), from the landscape architecture discipline, proposes viewing landscape in cinema as either (1) subject, (2) setting, (3) character, or (4) symbol. Lukinbeal (2005), building on the work of Higson (1987), posits four similar yet different functions of landscape in film: as space, as place, as metaphor, and in keeping with the doctrine of theatre, as spectacle.

Landscape as Space

Space is often matched with the term 'placeless' (Relph, 1976; Lukinbeal, 2005) because it is perceived to be devoid of meaning, and in film, landscape as space simply provides a meaningless somewhere (usually a generic location) for the narrative or the plot to unfold. Lukinbeal (2005) points out that landscape as space is found mostly on studio sets or nondescript backlots. While many Westerns employ landscape as a central 'character'[4] of the film (Solomon, 1976; Helphand, 1986), some Westerns, those filmed primarily on a sound stage (e.g., *The Ox-Bow Incident*) or backlot (e.g., *High Noon*), view the landscape as space and therefore not as vital to the narrative. However, even the mundane can lose its 'placelessness' as McHugh (2005) shows in his riveting dissection of the documentary *This is Nowhere*. In the film, RV travelers with 'hitch itch' criticize their Wal-Mart 'camp' grounds, in essence labeling parking lots landscapes of space. However, through skillful editing, accelerated film speeds, and a dissonant musical score these comments prove contradictory and ultimately elevate a space of nowhere to landscape as place.

Landscape as Place

One of the fundamental differences between space and place is that place has 'personality' (Nietschmann, 1993; Cresswell, 1994) while space does not. Landscape as place "provides narrative realism by grounding the film to a particular location's regional sense of place and history" (Lukinbeal, 2005, p. 6). Sense of place is shown in film using pervasive landscapes to establish the film's mood or atmosphere (Helphand, 1986) and to orient the viewer to a certain geographical location, which helps the viewer understand and follow the plot's

[4] *The Wind* (1928), starring Lillian Gish, marks one of the first, and most influential, portrayals of nature as a character in a Western film (Paschall & Weiner, 2006).

movement through the spatial setting or the diegesis. Nietschmann (1993) points out that filmmakers can establish place on screen through (1) pacing that allows viewers to comprehend the movie's geographic scale, (2) use geographic symbols to identify and communicate place and region, (3) portray the environment as foreground rather than background, and (4) build the story / plot on the natural geographic character of the place. Western filmmakers excel using #3 and #4 and Robert Mittelstadt's (1976) thesis illustrates how influential Western film directors depict their (differing) landscapes as place. Multiple camera techniques work to establish the landscape as place, but one is revered in Westerns: the master shot.

> Master shots rely on icons and stereotypes of place to establish a cognitive map of the narrative's geographic location. This cognitive map depends on the audience understanding the central icons of a location … The repetitious use of icons by film and television of particular places and buildings can create a representational legacy that works to construct and establish a cognitive map, a sense of place. (Lukinbeal, 2005, p. 8)

The Western makes effective use of the master shot (also called the establishing shot) (Gaberscek, 2006b). The opening shot of *For a Few Dollars More* (1967) (Figure 2-1) pictures an arid and desolate landscape, populated only by an unknown rider far in the distance. It immediately informs the audience that the film's diegesis is likely somewhere in the unsettled, unpopulated West. The landscape is portrayed as a harsh and even murderous environment when the lone rider is shot off his horse. Master shots position the action in a place that Westerns go to great lengths to establish.

Figure 2-1: Establishing / Master Shot for Opening of *For a Few Dollars More*

Landscape as Metaphor

Cinema can draw upon small and large metaphors to establish the landscape as metaphor or symbol (Johnston et al., 2000). Here the landscape merely represents something beyond its physical reality (Helphand, 1986). Small metaphors rely on brief rhetorical tropes while large metaphors are more prominent in the film and "structure common ways of seeing the landscape for a social or cultural group" (Lukinbeal, 2005, p. 14). For instance, small metaphors in Westerns involving inclement weather signal sadness in *My Darling Clementine* (1946) as well as sickness and impending violence in *Unforgiven*. Dando (2005) explains how the Nebraska plains in *Boys Don't Cry* serve as a large metaphor for the frontier landscape, and Arreola (2005) shows how the large metaphor menudo (Mexican soup) refers to the mixture of ethnic and racial struggles along the border in *Lone Star*.

Landscape as Spectacle

Landscape as spectacle imbues the viewer with an emotional intrigue created by viewing a beautiful or compelling image (Lukinbeal, 2005). Visually pleasant landscapes can transform spectators into voyeurs and establish a patriarchal gaze, where the audience and male characters

do the looking, but the female characters are looked at (Mulvey, 1975). Hollywood is guilty of constructing this male perspective, especially in Westerns, though rarely to the scopophilic level. Master, panoramic, and zoom shots can be used to facilitate a landscape as spectacle. All three shots are seen during Lieutenant John Dunbar's journey to Fort Sedgewick in *Dances with Wolves*. As seen in Figures 2-2 through 2-5, the South Dakota 'Badlands' serve as a picturesque landscape of place, but based on these camera shots and including John Barry's score, they also function as a landscape of spectacle, and as a metaphor for Dunbar's solitude.

Figure 2-2: Establishing / Master Shot of South Dakota Landscape in *Dances with Wolves*

Figure 2-3: Panoramic Shot of South Dakota Landscape in *Dances with Wolves*

Figure 2-4: Zoom (In) Shot of South Dakota Landscape in *Dances with Wolves*

Figure 2-5: Zoom (Out) Shot of South Dakota Landscape in *Dances with Wolves*

Whether portrayed as space, place, metaphor, or spectacle, landscapes can serve many functions in cinema, and the images they send are a vital aspect of this research. Understanding the relevant research themes of cinematic geography is necessary before focusing on the films that provide the images, which is what comes next. Chapter three discusses the Western film genre, how it evolved, its visual characteristics, narrative elements, and its future.

Chapter 3 - The Western Film Genre

> "The Western is without question the richest and most enduring genre of Hollywood's repertoire."
>
> - Thomas Schatz in *Hollywood Genres* (1981, p. 45)

Though some may take umbrage with Schatz's bold assertion, geographers Gary Hausladen and Paul Starrs (2005) label the Western as the quintessential American film genre. The longevity of the Western indicates that quality work exists or the genre would have disappeared years ago, but despite its continued subsistence the death knell of the Western has been rung for nearly as long as the genre has existed (Simmon, 2003). Consider this pronouncement:

> There seems to be prevalent a sentiment that the Western photoplay has outrun its course of usefulness and is slated for an early demise. The old thrills are exhausted and people want something new. It is just simply the case of a gold mine that has been worked to the limit and can give no more desirable ore. Apparently the old Western expedients are frayed to a frazzle and audiences have become familiar with them to the point of contempt.
>
> - "The Passing of the Western Subject," *The Nickelodeon* (1911, p. 181)

Similar predictions continue to the present day (Maslin, 1998; Berg, 2000). Gary Hoppenstand makes a similar, yet metaphorically blunt, claim in his editorial in the first issue of the 2004 film geography special issue of *The Journal of Popular Culture* when he writes, "You may now please call in the coroner; the Western motion picture is dead" (p. 3). This proclamation matches box office numbers, whereby the Western has accounted for less than 1% of all ticket sales since 1975 (Bowles, 2013). Writer Richard House offers this interesting

explanation for the Western's vacillating popularity: "Whenever Americans feel good about their country, you'll see the reemergence of the Western" (as cited in Wallmann, 1999, p. 156).

However, for every Western eulogy or argument of its reduced cultural significance in America (Coyne, 1997), there exists substantial evidence of its pulse (Bazin, 1971; Solomon, 1976; Mitchell, 1996; Haining, 1997; Wallmann, 1999; McVeigh, 2007; Prasch, 2009; della Cava, 2011; Ebiri, 2013). The genre persists because of its capacity to reflect upon and present pressing, pertinent, and popular societal and even political issues (e.g.: McCarthyism in the 50s, Vietnam in the 60s and 70s) and they serve as "collective expressions of contemporary life that strike a particularly resonant chord with audiences" (Grant, 1986, p. 116).

The perception of the current state of the Western genre clearly means vastly different things to different people. It is precisely because of this that defining the Western to experts' satisfaction is so unlikely. For instance, Wellek and Warren (1956) suggest composing a list of elements typical of the Western and deem any film that contains at least one of those elements a Western, but their advice has trappings of its own. By creating this type of inclusive list an argument can be made for almost any film as a Western. Moreover, attempts to summarize the meaning of the Western bring about an exclusive list where "the same films are mentioned again and again, not only because they are well known or particularly well made, but because they somehow seem to represent the genre more fully and faithfully than other apparently more tangential films" (Altman, 1986, p. 27). One reason for this is because American pragmatism views genre theory as unnecessary since we believe we know a genre when we see it[5] (Altman, 1986). Using the word 'genre' is also problematic because, as Kitses (1969) writes, "the term

[5] French film critics are the inverse of American critics in that they are theory driven scholars, whereas Americans would only call upon genre theory "in the unlikely event that knowledgeable genre critics disagreed on basic issues" (Altman, 1986, p. 26).

carries literary overtones of technical rules. Nor is 'form' any better; the western is many forms" (p. 17) meaning the Western can be as stylistically different as *Stagecoach* or *The Wild Bunch* (1969) and still be a Western. Labeling a film a Western suggests that it contains some previously established elements that we associate with other Westerns, but people differ on the elements and the issue is further clouded by cultural differences. So unless everyone agrees on what comprises a Western, little chance exists that each culture will conceptualize the genre in the same way, which is part of the reason why it is so fascinating a topic to watch, analyze, and discuss.

Though genre definition is a messy job beyond the purpose of this work, it is worthwhile to present my argument for what makes up the genre since the objective of this geographic research is to analyze the place images of one hundred major Westerns. Drawing from the work of more informed historians and writers within the complex genre's corpus, the only incontrovertible aspect of the genre that most people seem to be able to agree on is that a Western must be spatially set in the West. Ergo, the defining element is about place more so than time or history. This place extends beyond the borders of the United States and encompasses a good deal of the North American continent. In addition to place, the Western has evolved through four interpretations over the past two centuries to produce a number of recognizable narrative elements that people associate with the genre, namely history, myth, characters, and plot.

The North American West – Setting and History

At its most fundamental level, the Western is about the West, but even this tautological statement can be interpreted many ways (the American West?). Debates arise about delimiting the West, but there is no debate among scholars that the genre is unequivocally set in the West.

Bazin (1971), Solomon (1976), Buscombe (1986), Cawelti (1999), Hausladen (2003), and Peterson (2006) all acknowledge setting as a core component of the Western because it revolves around the landscape and its sense of place. "The Western is primarily a genre of location, but richer than other such genres because the location immediately circumscribes the kind of action that will occur" including a Manichean environment of good versus evil (Solomon, 1976, p. 12-13).

Kitses (1969) writes "The western (sic) is American history" (p. 8). I agree it can portray regional history, but owing to its complexity it can also exceed the borders of this country and extend beyond American history[6]. The West, as it is portrayed in the Western film genre, is not constrained by the 49th parallel to the north, nor the Rio Grande and some straight lines to the south. As a result, for this research the West includes films set in North America, thereby including Mexico and Canada.

While some contend that the Western is a "triplex system of the hero, the adventure, and the law" (Fenin & Everson, 1973, p. 25), Walter Nugent (1992) shows how there is no clean and clear idea of what is and is not a Western. One straightforward way to define it is to break it down into its components, but scholars warn against reducing the genre from a culturally complex and artistic creation to its simplistic components because the essence of the Western is more than the sum of its parts (Bazin, 1971; Cawelti, 1999). However, to better understand the point of view this research takes regarding the genre as a whole, place is not the only element of note. Other parts must be examined and that begins with a summary of the Western story's evolution.

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[6] What of the Mexican revolution seen in *Vera Cruz* (1954) and *Two Mules for Sister Sara* (1970)?

The Western Story's History / Evolution

Historian Richard Etulain (1999) provides a concise dissection of the Western story's life into four parts. He discusses (1) its integral creators, and how their influence gave rise to (2) the traditional stories, (3) the equally important but suppressed untold stories, and (4) the new stories that have popped up since the 1960s. While the bulk of major Westerns are mined from the traditional vein, in recent decades the number of untold and new stories have influenced the genre and challenged the traditional Western.

The Creators

The Western of today can trace its roots back to New York State. Long before cinema existed the West was disseminated through literature. James Fenimore Cooper is one of the first to popularize the Western via his five Leatherstocking Tales[7] that follow the character Natty Bumppo, a Daniel Boone-like hero "who battled the wilderness and 'barbaric' Indians to open the frontier for those coming behind" (Etulain, 1999, p. 2). However, for Cooper it was not the Rocky Mountains but the Adirondacks of the mid-to-late eighteenth century that comprise the West.

Following Cooper, Erastus Beadle's creation of the dime novel exploded in popularity following the Civil War[8] and helped introduce the outlaw and cowboy as characters in the Western story along with violence, "probably the most notable characteristic of the dime novel western" (Jones, 1970, p. 507). Authors Ned Buntline and Prentiss Ingraham sensationalized,

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[7] James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales include: *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deer Slayer* (1841). *The Prairie* is Cooper's sole novel that is not set in the eighteenth century nor in the state of New York.

[8] According to Brown (1997), thousands of dime novels were published between 1850 and 1900.

mythologized, and immortalized characters like Deadwood Dick, Calamity Jane, and especially Buffalo Bill Cody.

Cody's reputation as an American Indian fighter and scout was already well established in pulp fiction before he created and perfected what would come to be called Buffalo Bill's Wild West. His show combined violence with competition to portray white victimization, an idea that whites were badly abused conquerors (White, 1999). In essence, Cody's Wild West turned white conquerors into the victims of a continent that "teemed with murderous Indian enemies" (White, 1999, p. 53). Cody's violent portrayal proved to be of paramount importance to the creation of the Western story, so much so that by 1900 two images of the West existed.

The first was the West as a violent, romantic, and adventurous landscape with free and open land for the courageous of heart inspired by Manifest Destiny. Painters were significant contributors to this image, with Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran among the first to popularize the West (Blake, 1995). Frederic Remington, Charles Russell, and George Catlin were among other artists who in the last quarter of the nineteenth century cemented the image of the West as a fierce struggle between men and between man and the environment. (Buscombe, 1984).

The second image was the Turnerian West, the creation of scholar Frederick Jackson Turner. To Turner the frontier served as the pinnacle of American history and also American Exceptionalism, the idea that the United States was exceptional as a country because our development and identity was molded and forged by our seemingly unique frontier experience (Etulain, 1999; White, 1999).

The Traditional Story

The creation stories help focus the traditional story that comprises the Western of the twentieth century and perhaps no one person was more responsible for the beginning of the modern Western story than Owen Wister (Cawelti, 1999). Author of the epoch-making 1902 novel *The Virginian* (Worster, 1992), Wister introduces four ingredients to the Western recipe: romance between hero and heroine, a greenhorn narrator, an elegiac tone for the vanishing frontier, and the cowboy as the romantic and archetypal hero of the frontier (Cawelti, 1999; Etulain, 1999). The cowboy hereby replaces Cooper's frontiersman as the Western hero and this element is reified in print by authors like Zane Grey and in cinema by actors like John Wayne, who as much as any actor furthered and entrenched the idea of the cowboy as hero beginning in *Stagecoach*.

The traditional stories are among the most visible and popular entries in the genre. They exude a romantic approach that embraces and reinforces American Exceptionalism and mythology, and they employ a (sometimes literal) black and white view of violence that encourages, rationalizes, and even glorifies taking violent action in the name of justice and righteousness. Biographers like Walter Noble Burns, echoing Cody and the dime novels, advances the notion of a violent Wild West in their 'historical' accounts of Western figures like Wyatt Earp, Wild Bill Hickok, and Billy the Kid that elevates these mortals to the level of demigods (Etulain, 1999). In part, our images of these Western icons come from sensationalized biographies that may purport to be the truth, when, in actuality, they spectacularly and persuasively blur the boundaries between myth and reality.

The Untold Stories

The creation and traditional stories exclude a good number of untold stories of the West. Many other people besides Cooper and Cody fathom the western frontier, but their visions did not factor as prominently in forging the traditional story, primarily because they deviate from it and come from heretofore oppressed people. Two ostracized voices are that of women and Indians (Etulain, 1999). Few people are probably familiar with artist and writer Mary Hallock Foote's 'Mild' West, or how the wildcat Calamity Jane was also a destitute waif who longed to be a typical pioneer woman, a story that mirrors many women writers who have "produced a darker West that presents a grimmer version of the popularly imagined male West" (White, 1991, p. 629). Geronimo is a familiar and famous American Indian, yet some Western aficionados have probably never heard of Mourning Dove, the first woman to write a Native American novel. These stories were omitted from what became the traditional story or the list of elements that typically characterize a Western. With films like *The Ballad of Little Jo* (1993) and *Buffalo Soldiers* (1997) as well as novels like *Cibolero* (2007), only in the past few decades have non-traditional stories emerged at a national level to help shape the Western narrative, though even in the twenty-first century they pale in comparison to traditional Westerns in terms of popularity and availability.

The New West

A hallmark of the traditional Hollywood Western is the consistently poor treatment of American Indians. Louis L'Amour was the most famous (though not the first) to begin a movement toward a more humane treatment of indigenous peoples, starting with his acclaimed novel *Hondo* (1953) and continuing through his career that ended as the most successful Western storyteller of all-time (Etulain, 1999). As successful as L'Amour became, he is an exception in

his time because a movement was underway by the 1960s to break away from the "excessively romantic, stereotyped attachments to the frontier and, instead, deal with the cultural complexities of a postfrontier West" (Etulain, 1999, p. 106). 'New Western Historians' study these re-visionings and these writers focus not upon stories about people moving *to* the frontier West but instead on people already living *in* a region called the West. This shift signals that historical reckoning or a certain time in history is no longer an essential genre element, since stories of present day events and people already living in the West becomes a focus. From this movement comes writers like Wallace Stegner and his Pulitzer Prize winning *Angle of Repose* (1971). Limerick exposes Cody's white victimization image as a complete fabrication in *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (1987). Her message is a condemnation: The expanding frontier myth and Manifest Destiny distorts and rationalizes the fact that the West is really the history of white conquest over the land and American Indians that results in numerous ethnic, economic, and environmental problems that continue to plague the region.

The New West is not as romantic as its predecessor. One voice able to bridge the gap and synthesize both schools of thought is author Larry McMurtry. Best known for his massive novel *Lonesome Dove* (1985), McMurtry uses familiar elements of the traditional Western (like cowboys on a cattle drive) while crafting a more complex story. Instead of glorifying the West, McMurtry's characters in other novels come to realize how antiquated frontier ideals are in contemporary society, as seen in films like *Hud* (1963) and *The Last Picture Show*.

This paradigm shift in Western storytelling is one explanation for the genre's vacillating popularity since the 1970s because the viewers educated on the inspiring, romanticized, and morally upstanding traditional films of John Wayne, James Stewart, or the unfailingly honorable Gary Cooper, find it difficult to digest some of the sullen, bleak, and complex films that

ideologically clash with their definition of a Western. A good example of this can be found in the film, *No Country for Old Men* (2007), an adaptation of a Cormac McCarthy novel that weaves some visual elements of a traditional Western (costumes, setting) into a brutal, early 1980s plot. Upon the film's release and its subsequent winning of the Academy Award for Best Picture in 2008, the question arose: is this a Western? Arguments can be made to support both sides and it is included in the filmography (Table 4-1) since there is credence to it being labeled a New Western, a film that blends recognizable traditional Western elements into a contemporary, complex narrative.

From Cooper to Cody to Cormac the Western has undergone extensive revision, and this fact is essential to understanding the genre since it is too multifarious and versatile to be explained by a single definition or criterion. Place is the only narrative characteristic that runs through all Western stories, but other elements are particularly germane to its telling, and the following section addresses one of the most ubiquitous: myth.

The Western and Myth

> "Every myth can have its history and its geography; each is in fact the sign of the other: a myth ripens because it spreads." (Barthes, 1972, p. 149)

Barthes is not writing about myth's place in the Western, but he could be seeing as how the film genre provides an excellent example of how myth grows. Over the past two centuries the aforementioned evolution and spread of the Western narrative has allowed for the maturation and dissemination of its myth, to the point where the two are nearly as synonymous as Butch Cassidy with the Sundance Kid.

If Solomon (1976) is correct, that a Western's significance is evinced by its adherence to staying *within* the genre's alleged guidelines, then many Westerns likely reflect American

mythology. Examinations of the Western reference the frontier myth and the Western's myth-making ability, which leads to the dubbing of America as the 'Gunfighter Nation' (Slotkin, 1992). The frontier myth portrays an epic place of struggle between such black and white dualities as wilderness versus civilization, progress versus nostalgia, order versus chaos, East versus West (Budd, 1976), or the male bond versus the male ideal of isolation (Lewis, 2008). The American West is also mythologized as the new Garden of Eden (Smith, 1950; Watson, 1976b), a utopian territory ripe for settlement that beckons land hungry, Manifest Destiny-inspired citizens.

Westerns propagate multiple American myths and even capitalist axioms. Robin Wood's (1986) twelve component definition of American capitalist ideology aligns with many Western themes. Some of the ideologies and myths Wood discusses include (1) land ownership, (2) a strong work ethic, (3) nature as agrarianism, (4) nature as the wilderness, (5) progress, (6) the adventurous male, (7) the ideal female, (8) the erotic woman, and (9) most renown of all, the American Dream, "the dream of happiness and self-realization" in an uncharted land where people could begin anew (Wallmann, 1999, p. 17).

Solomon (1976) also writes that three characteristics are necessary to define a film genre: (1) understandable iconography and established narrative patterns, (2) originality, and, the defining aspect, (3) a certain mythic structure that "formulates itself from the premise found at the genre's central core" (p. 4). The mythic structure of a Western is embodied most in the literary form of romance. Literary theorist Northrop Frye (1957) asserts that "the essential element of plot in romance is adventure" (p. 186), another common Western trait. Solomon (1976) also labels the Western a romantic genre because it is set sometime in the past and in

remote locations, and the narrative's occasional attempts to establish the historical time or spatial setting further the romantic flavor of the film.

Frye (1957) states that romance is "dialectical: everything is focussed (sic) on a conflict between the hero and his enemy" (p. 187), where the former embarks on another of Frye's aspects of romance – the successful quest. Frye points out that each hero undergoes (1) a perilous journey that involves minor adventures before engaging in (2) the crucial struggle that ultimately leads to (3) the hero's exaltation. These descriptions of adventure, dialectics, and the hero's journey epitomize the mythic Western, especially the importance of the quest or journey (Solomon, 1976; Cawelti, 1999; Voytilla, 1999).

Another striking Western myth is the opportunity for character retribution. The wide open vistas of the West serve as setting (Buscombe, 1986; Cawelti, 1999) but more as "space removed from cultural coercion, lying beyond ideology" (Mitchell, 1996, p. 4) and finally as a chance for release from the problems and travails associated with the civilized East. Mitchell (1996) says it best, "Whatever else the West may be, in whatever form it is represented, it always signals freedom to achieve some truer state of humanity" (p. 5).

Myths are also vital to our perception of the world and our identity within it. According to Slotkin[9] (1992), "we require a myth that can help us make sense of the history we have lived and the place we are living in" (p. 655). This was acceptable until the myth of American Exceptionalism was challenged by world events and realities, like the rationalization of the Vietnam War in the 1960s or the beleaguered belief in government following the Watergate Scandal in the 1970s. Taking up this mantle, New West writers, who typically jettison the

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[9] For the definitive study of the frontier myth in American literary, popular, and political culture see Richard Slotkin's massive trilogy: *Regeneration through Violence* (1973), *The Fatal Environment* (1985), and *Gunfighter Nation* (1992).

frontier myth sentiment, have risen since Solomon and their contributions have made the Western narrative less mythic, but more complex and eclectic. In the world of Westerns, myth is still an integral part of the story but it is no longer a requirement, as seen in films that demythologize the West like *The Last Picture Show* and *Unforgiven*.

Narrative and Visual Characteristics of the Western

Westerns entail more than just place, history, and myth, and while few people agree on what those things are, a look at the Western's narrative and visual characteristics is warranted to identify some of the keys to the genre that informs viewers' place image expectations.

Kitses' Characteristics

Kitses (1969) identifies four broad, interrelated aspects of the genre that spring from the garden / desert dialectic: history, themes, archetype, and icons. For him, "the basic convention of the genre is that films in western guise are about America's past" (p. 24), a clear indication of traditional narrative thinking. Kitses does not detail specific themes except to say that they are demonstrated through recognizable character types and various plots. Because of its storied pulp fiction tradition, the Western establishes divergent archetypal elements in the form of romance but also tragedy, comedy, and the morality play. Lastly, icons manifest themselves morally or allegorically through the dialectic created by the fusing of history, themes, and archetypes. Examples of Western iconography include specific landscapes, distinctive architecture, weapons, clothing styles, character speech patterns, and even the film's soundtrack or score (Pye, 1986). Kitses (1969) is short on details or development of his four aspects, but he does note that narrative and dramatic structure are what hold these four elements together.

Buscombe's Visual Conventions

Buscombe (1986) perceives one way of looking at genre as "being composed of an outer form consisting of a certain number of visual conventions" (p. 17). He states that these visual outer forms populate Westerns but have little impact on the narrative. Buscombe, who ranks setting as "the chief glory" (p. 14) of the Western, splits it into outdoor and indoor locations. Westerns exist outdoors in deserts, mountains, plains, and woods, while indoors they move through distinctive structures like saloons, jails, courthouses, mines, general stores, forts, ranch houses, hotels, riverboats, and brothels. Characters don idiosyncratic clothing and arm themselves with weapons such as Colt and Schofield revolvers, or Winchester, Springfield, or Henry rifles. Horses serve as a means of transportation along with steam locomotives and stagecoaches. Unlike Kitses, Buscombe does not link the Western to history and to do so "is to misunderstand the nature and meaning of genres and how they work" (p. 18). Much of Buscombe's traditional notion of a Western involves Cawelti's (1999) holistic approach to classifying Westerns, what he deemed the 'family resemblance' idea that we know a Western when we see one because the film contains certain elements we associate with a Western.

Cawelti's Characteristics and the Frontier

Thirty years after Kitses, Cawelti's (1999) sequel to his first book, *The Six-Gun Mystique* (1970), asks and, more astonishingly, answers the tough questions of genre identification. He extensively identifies three characteristics that typify the Western formula: setting, characters, and situation. Most people would label a film with horses, six shooters, and ten gallon hats a Western. Therefore, "the Western is a matter of geography and costume" where the story "takes place somewhere in the western United States in which the characters wear certain distinctive styles of clothing" (Cawelti, 1999, p. 19). A central aim of this scholarship is to explain the first

part of this statement. Identifying a Western's spatial settings isolates the images (like the horse, six shooter, or ten gallon hat) the audience can use to form their perceptions of place. But that does not mean that every film with a cowboy hat in it should be deemed a Western.

Cawelti adds one more important dimension to his discussion of setting: "The Western formula tends to portray the frontier as 'meeting point between civilization and savagery' because the clash of civilization ('law and order') with savagery generates dramatic excitement and striking antitheses" (p. 20). The frontier setting where this clash occurs is what Cawelti calls the 'epic moment', which is, usually, a duality distinctive of the Western narrative. Cawelti does not place nearly the importance on history that Kitses does, but he does believe that Westerns can be temporally located well into the twentieth century. Peter Homans (1961) echoes Cawelti's inclusion of a frontier with his definition of the Western narrative. Homans believes a Western contains isolated elements that when organized together form a distinctive pattern, and that this pattern contains cultural significance that people associate with a Western.

Cawelti sees three central character roles in the Western: townspeople, outlaws or savages, and heroes. The multiple variations possible between these three groups serve as the basis for various Western plots. Townspeople usually include women (stereotyped as schoolmarms or dancehall girls), virtuous pioneers who simply lack the ability to deal with the outlaws or savages, eastern escapees who seek a diversion from personal failures or tragedy in the East, and banker villains who represent "the decent ideals of the pioneer gone sour" (p. 33). The outlaw or savage serves to be vanquished and this is achieved in two ways. In some cases the death of the villain is cause for audience jubilation and in others, audience lamentation as "the imperatives of civilization and the good values of savagery prove irreconcilable and we are invited to lament the passing of these values as the price to be paid for civilization" (p. 34). The

hero usually resolves the conflict through violence and is the most complex character. The hero is typically a mobile, laconic male, and though filmmakers have long altered the gender dynamic (see *Johnny Guitar* [1954]), this character has changed the most through the years to the point that few recent cinematic cowboys hold fast to Gene Autry's Cowboy Commandments or Code of the West (Figure 3-1). In terms of Western dualities, contemporary cowboys align more with anarchy than Autry's social order driven cowboys (Schatz, 1986).

Figure 3-1: Gene Autry's Cowboy Code (Wright, 1995)

1 – The Cowboy must never shoot first, hit a smaller man, or take unfair advantage.
2 – He must never go back on his word or a trust confided in him.
3 – He must always tell the truth.
4 – He must be gentle with children, the elderly, and animals.
5 – He must not advocate or possess racially or religiously intolerant ideas.
6 – He must help people in distress.
7 – He must be a good worker.
8 – He must keep himself clean in thought, speech, action, and personal habits.
9 – He must respect women, parents, and his nation's laws.
10 – The Cowboy is a patriot.

Cawelti's (1999) final component of the Western is situation: "A great variety of situations and plots can be made into Westerns as long as the basic conventions of setting and character relations are maintained" (p. 45). Again, he refers here to the epic moment (or the Turnerian West), that Western situations revolve around the moment where civilized society faces the savage wilderness. Two patterns of action spawn from the epic moment: chase and pursuit, and alternating flight and pursuit. The protagonist(s) chases and pursues the antagonist(s) and vice versa, or the two take turns being the hunter and the hunted. These broad patterns allow for just about any story to be turned into a Western, "so long as a story can be adapted to Western settings and characters" (p. 46).

In summation, Cawelti's three characteristics can really be reduced down to two – that a Western must include proper characters, and most importantly, a recognizable setting. But his

setting is not necessarily a place on a map: "For me, the Western is essentially defined by setting. I refer here not so much to a particular geographic setting like the Rocky Mountains or the Great Plains, but to a symbolic setting representing the boundary between order and chaos, between tradition and newness" (p. 9). The frontier is of prime importance in the mythic traditional story because it is a symbol of American achievement and a wellspring of our values. The prestigious American Film Institute's definition of a Western addresses both setting and the frontier: "AFI defines 'Western' as a genre of films set in the American West that embodies the spirit, the struggle and the demise of the new frontier" (American Film Institute, 2008b). This definition is not without its own issues. What are the limits of the American West? Are the "symbolic settings" representative of actual western places? What is the 'new' frontier? The frontier focus reveals that while situation, characters, and, of course, setting, are important indicators of a Western, the inclusion of a frontier is perhaps most historically essential to the genre's traditional story.

If these experts could agree upon anything, it might be that the Western genre is (1) too complex to view through one lens of analysis and (2) too evolved to condense to a set of rigid 'family resemblances'. As sure as the turning of the earth, what viewers perceive as the quintessential Western has changed over time (Tudor, 1986). In the 1940s it might have been *Stagecoach*, in the 1950s most likely *High Noon* or *Shane*, the 1960s gave us the Spaghetti Westerns, and in the 1990s arguably it was *Unforgiven*. In Kitses' (1969) summation, the Western "is of a varied and flexible structure, a thematically fertile and ambiguous world of historical material shot through archetypal elements which are themselves ever in flux" (p. 19). Perhaps Kitses was prescient because with the arrival of the New West, some elements of the genre are clearly fluctuating.

Narrative Elements of the Western Formula

'A' Westerns versus 'B' Westerns

Similar to the Old West / New West discussion, occasionally one might hear a film classified as either an 'A' Western or a 'B' Western, so the distinctions between these alphabet films should be made clear. 'B' Westerns, most prevalent in the 1930s, though the equivalents are still made today, are low-budget productions with short shooting schedules, which adversely affects every aspect of the film's quality. They have short running times (typically just over 60 minutes) and they prioritize action and stunt work over plot and character development. Overall, the 'B' Western is a simple and straightforward picture, akin to the uncomplicated dime novels that preceded it, which led to the notion that this brand of Western is a lesser or juvenile genre (Smith, 1950).

The distinction of an 'A' Western dawned with *Stagecoach* in 1939 when all the major studios committed to making films of higher production standards (Stanfield, 2002). Also called 'novelistic' and 'superwesterns' (Bazin, 1971), 'A' Westerns enjoy greater budgets, they are typically 90 minutes or longer in length, and though they do not eschew action and stunts, they do elevate the genre because they abandon the 'B' Western plot formula and enrich the narrative by injecting it with serious cultural, moral, aesthetic, sociological, psychological, and even political interests. Hoffmann (2000) is precise in his claim that "while 'B' westerns remain unpretentious horse operas, 'A' westerns are intellectual and artistic pictures, effectively competing for honors and recognition with films of other genres" (p. 2).

Western Story Types or Plotlines

The high adventure dime-novels and romance Western literature that were precursors to the cinematic 'A' and 'B' Westerns produced numerous adventure stories and plots, the single

most important aspect of the genre film (Sobchack, 1986). The ‘A’ Western, the sole focus of this research, centers on violence but goes beyond that to judge when violent action is morally right, if at all (Wright, 1986). This tenet plays out in several storylines that five scholars identified and categorized over the last 60 years (Table 3-1). The fact that no single plot is found in all five analyses demonstrates the versatility and reach of the genre.

Table 3-1: Western Plots by Scholar

Rieupeyrout (1952)	Gruber (1967)	Wright (1975)	Tuska (1985)	Voytilla (1999)
The Civil War	Railroad Story	Classic Plot	Pioneer Achievement	Hero Defends a Town
The Gold Rush	Ranch Story	Transition Theme	Town/Ranch Story	Hero is a Searcher
Cattle Rustling	Cattle Empire Story	Professional Plot	Picaresque Wanderers & Searchers	Hero is on the Run
Historical Biographies	Revenge Story	Vengeance Variation	Justice/Revenge Theme	Hero Seeks Vengeance
Indian Wars	Cavalry vs. Indians	---	Indian Story	Hero Finds Himself
Stagecoach Attacks	Outlaw Story	---	Outlaw Story	---
Holdups	Marshal (Law & Order)	---	Lawman Story	---
Claim Jumping	---	---	---	---

Rieupeyrout (1952) recognizes eight Western stories though it should be pointed out that his work does not acknowledge any Western beyond 1952. As such, his listing was clearly influenced by the sheer volume of ‘B’ Westerns in existence, since at that time ‘A’ Westerns were still a relatively new creation.

Western writer Frank Gruber (1967) brands seven story types, but the most striking was the revenge story, which may well be the most widespread and repeated Western plot in the genre. Whether it is called vengeance, justice, or revenge, this plot that was sired from ‘A’ Western productions shows up in four of the five scholar’s plot listings, thereby earning itself the brand as the quintessential Western story.

Will Wright (1975) identifies only four main Western plots[10], but they extend beyond the scope of the action and establish a resonant theme for the film. So, instead of a claim jumping or railroad story, some of Wright's plots reflect the societal issues that helped elevate the Western from 'B' to 'A' status. Forthright morality adorns the classical plot (think any Gary Cooper role, the classic moral cinematic cowboy), but evaporates in the professional plot (hired amoral heroes that sprang up in the 1960s), and despite his virtuous actions, the hero's place in society is questioned in both the vengeance variation and the transition theme (the inverse of the classical plot and another strong expression of Western myth). These plots show the Western's growing complexity.

Jon Tuska (1985) admits in his "defantasization" of the Western that due to the rising intricacy of the narrative as well as the diverse people and events in this era of history, there are numerous potential situations the Western could explore. Tuska distinguishes three categories that each Western story, no matter how many exist, can be broken down into: the formula, the romance, and the historical. From these three categories spawn seven types of stories that redefine Gruber's list, but they are largely unremarkable and lack innovation. The value of Tuska's work is in his three categories. The formula Western follows a rigid and highly recognizable plot structure that harkens back to the 'B' Western, but myth and reality characterize the last two. Whereas the romance embraces the prominent Western frontier myth in all its glory, the historical reconstruction seeks to cinematically capture actual events, such as the

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[10] Appendix A contains Will Wright's Western filmography (from 1931 through 1972), including how each film is classified according to his four plot types. Of the 64 films in his filmography, he classified 24 as classical, 10 as vengeance, 3 as transition, 18 as professional, 3 as a mixture of the classical and professional plots, and 6 (for no specified reason) receive no classification.

gunfight at the O.K. Corral or the Battle of the Alamo, though usually in fictitious and ideologically null recreations.

Lastly, Stuart Voytilla (1999) illustrates how far the genre has come from its 'B' Western preoccupation with action when he proposes a set of five Western story arcs that focus entirely on character, specifically the hero. He borrows heavily from Joseph Campbell's (1949) epochal work on narrative myth, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*[11] whereby Campbell describes the journey of the archetypal Hero through the mythological world. As the Western goes, Voytilla sees five recurring situations / journeys of Campbell's Hero. First, the Hero defends a town against evil as Will Kane (Gary Cooper) does in *High Noon*. Second, the Hero searches for someone who has been lost or abducted or is a fugitive from the law, demonstrated by Ethan Edwards' (John Wayne) search for his abducted niece in John Ford's aptly titled *The Searchers* or by Howard Kemp's (James Stewart) pursuit of a murderer in Anthony Mann's *The Naked Spur* (1953). Third, the Hero is 'on the run,' exhibited by the titular characters in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* as they evade the super-posse. Fourth, the Hero seeks vengeance for a wrongdoing, sometimes to a loved one, as in *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, or to rectify a malicious and immoral crime, as in *Unforgiven*. Finally, the Hero discovers himself in the wilderness, as Dunbar (Kevin Costner) does in *Dances with Wolves*.

Voytilla (1999) also draws upon Campbell for further genre elements. With *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* as the most glaring exception, the Western Hero rides alone. The reluctant hero, usually a male, refuses to get involved until he is morally compelled to take violent measures to rid the world of evil. This genre is known for its polar archetypes that pit

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[11] Campbell's study of heroic mythology has been referenced by many writers and even filmmakers; notably George Lucas, who openly acknowledged that *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* helped shape *Star Wars* (1977), a film that is itself a "Space Western" that pits the all-in-white hero Luke Skywalker against the all-in-black villain Darth Vader (della Cava, 2011).

good versus evil in some way with the landscape playing the role of a 'special world.' "The audience expects this 'special world' of beautiful mountains and stark prairies. The audience wants to be transported, to live the freedom and romance of the Frontier through the visuals and the actions of the characters" (Voytilla, 1999, p. 51).

The Western's Future

Despite the vast number of Western plots, none of the aforementioned scholars identify a single plot that resembles the New West or the untold stories. Clearly, these intellectuals are steeped in the traditional narrative, which is the focus of most major Westerns produced by Hollywood yesterday and today since studios are keen to create pictures with brand recognition.

The focus on the traditional narrative reveals that film, in terms of major Westerns, has not caught up to literature on the Western narrative evolutionary scale. Or, perhaps it is the viewer who is lagging behind and cinema has evolved right alongside literature. Maybe major films like *Chinatown* (1974), *There Will Be Blood* (2007), and *No Country for Old Men* should be deemed Westerns, they just do not neatly fit into an ordinary viewer's old-fashioned definition because its recognizably traditional form has been injected with new, seemingly aberrant elements (Tuska, 1985). Turner and Higgs (1999) speak of these differences when they write that "the western may mutate somewhat in form, with the cowboy packing a laptop instead of a gun" (p. 229). It will likely take a long time for mass audiences to deem a character toting a laptop a cowboy, because usually these films are labeled as prefix Westerns (e.g.: revisionist Western, anti-Western), where an adjective is inserted to identify how the film is a different kind of Western. I am not convinced that giving a name to any quasi-Western or identifying subgenres is worthwhile or wise since it can appear to water down the genre's main elements. However, as I have attempted to show in this chapter, since there are so few bedrock elements aside from

place, and to a lesser extent, history, myth, characters, and plot, these films that reflect the New West should simply be called 'New Westerns,' though 'hybridized versions' (della Cava, 2011), and 'Post-Westerns' (French, 2005; Campbell, 2013) are names that have been bandied about since the 1970s. 'New West' pays homage to the literary and historical movement and hints at Turner and Higgs' mutation even if, like the term 'Post-Western,' it does not capture the essence or fully and easily convey the meaning of what makes a film a 'New' or 'Post-Western.' However, this title is far from innovative, with usage of the term extending as far back as the 1970s with Maynard's (1974) analysis of *The Wild Bunch*. In the grand scheme of things, categorizing these films is as messy as defining them.

This chapter began with two quotes, one about the Western's rich and enduring place in Hollywood and the second touting the genre's demise. After a look at its past and present, where does the major cinematic Western go from here, given its fluctuations in form and popularity? Because it could accommodate virtually any storyline, in its heyday the Western was the most popular cinematic art form, but today that honor likely belongs to the comic book adaptation or zombie movie. The diminished production of Westerns since the 1970s has forced audiences to acquire their images of the West from established films of the genre's golden era. And it appears that trend will likely continue. The traditional Western will probably remain the most recognizable tale, but I believe the New West stories will continue to develop and prosper the genre as a whole, though that is difficult to achieve if so few are being produced today compared to the past.

Based upon issues like its narrative evolution and the fact that the genre does not perform well in the burgeoning overseas marketplace (Holson, 2006) or with modern audiences in general (Barnes, 2013), the major Western may be in a tough position. Nowadays, Hollywood produces

two types of Westerns: tentpole Westerns (big budget productions with even bigger box office expectations) and the smaller, more serious Academy Award contenders (Acuna, 2013). Hollywood will likely skew toward the awards-season group moving forward (or remaking famous entries from the genre's past like *True Grit* [2010] and *The Magnificent Seven* [2016]) since the relatively recent box office and Oscar successes of *Django Unchained* (2012) and the aforementioned *True Grit* remake have been overshadowed by the alarming financial failure of over-the-top flops like *Wild Wild West* (1999), *Jonah Hex* (2010), *Cowboys and Aliens* (2011), and *The Lone Ranger* (2013), a film that ended up costing Disney somewhere between $160-190 million (Shaw, 2013). These latter films bombed in that they did not spawn lucrative film franchises or even recoup their budget costs, thereby severely jeopardizing the production of future tentpole Westerns.

Despite the occasional Oscar candidate, the Western's immediate future is as a decayed (Coyne, 1997) niche film without a steady audience (Buscombe, 2006a) that is located on the fringe as Hollywood greenlights fewer pictures that will operate under modest production budgets until the genre can adapt and address its identity crisis. Slotkin (1992) aptly sums up the problem when he writes that "We are in the process of giving up a myth / ideology that no longer helps us see our way through the modern world, but lack a comparably authoritative system of beliefs to replace what we have lost" (p. 654). In other words, the traditional story / myth is archaic, yet nothing recognizably Western exists to replace it, so ostensibly the genre is waist deep in quicksand. Slotkin's New West-like suggestion that the film industry adopt a multicultural take on the myth may be a step in the right direction. However, two decades after this proposition, little change has been affected, the quicksand remains, and despite being

Hollywood's oldest genre, all of this shows that the cinematic Western still has something to prove.

Chapter 4 - The Filmography

‘Filmography’ [fil-**mog**-r*uh*-fee]: A list of films, their director, and their release dates. A filmography is similar to a bibliography. (Lewis, 2008, p. 438)

The above definition captures the content of this chapter, but it fails to describe the “impossibly painful task” (Solomons, 2011, p. 6) involved in selecting a viable filmography. Since Westerns comprise the data for this research, and taking into account how eclectic the genre has become, the question arises of how does one go about selecting a Western filmography? No agreed-upon Western literary canon exists (Johnson, 1996), so it is ludicrous to expect a perfect list of Western films to exist because whose West would it be and how could we know if it was the correct West? Even the Western Writer’s of America’s top choices (Appendix B) are not without some controversy and are “more likely to start arguments than to settle them, argument being one of the solemn duties of cinema and, more importantly, one of the great pleasures of movie-going” (Scott, 2004, p. xxiii). Criticism of any generated list should be expected and is actually healthy. The Western is a cultural form, and as such is worthy of all manner of debate. The presence of multiple eulogies for the Western is contrasted by the growing amount of historical, critical, and fictional writing that is being published, an amount that typically exceeds the annual output of Western cinema (Buscombe, 2006a). If the Western ceases being a topic of cultural, scholarly, or most importantly, popular discussion, that will be the final nail in its coffin. My filmography (Table 4-1) showcases one hundred major Westerns that were selected using multiple criteria. The filmography is not a personal list of my favorite Westerns. Instead, I base the selections on criteria outside of my opinions and personal preferences.

Table 4-1: Filmography of 100 Major Westerns

#	Western Film	Year	Credentials
1	*Stagecoach*	1939	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (2/7), 1001, AC #11, AFI #9, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #2, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #15
2	*Jesse James*	1939	SP (A), GB, AC #56, C, F&F, H, H^2 # 53, RG
3	*Dodge City*	1939	SP (A/D), AC #42, B, F&F, H^2 #65
4	*Union Pacific*	1939	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), AC #98, AFI, C, H, H^2 #64, HW
5	*Drums Along the Mohawk*	1939	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/2), C, H, HW
6	*Destry Rides Again*	1939	SP (A), 1001, AC #49, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #17, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #74
7	*The Westerner*	1940	SP (A/D), Oscar (1/3), AC #46, AFI, H, H^2 #12, WWA #59
8	*The Ox-Bow Incident*	1943	SP (A), GB, Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #18, AFI, C, FGGW, H, H^2 #13, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #25
9	*My Darling Clementine*	1946	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #22, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #4, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #22
10	*Duel in the Sun*	1946	SP (A), Oscar (0/2), AC #72, AFI, B, FGGW, H^2 #89, HW, RG, WWA #42
11	*Pursued*	1947	SP (A), B, FGGW, H, H^2 #81, RG, WWA #98
12	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*	1948	SP (A/D), Oscar (3/4), 1001, AC #16, C, H, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, WWA #11
13	*Fort Apache*	1948	SP (A/D), AC #25, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #19, HW, IMDb, WWA #43
14	*Red River*	1948	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/2), 1001, AC #3, AFI #5, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #3, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #7
15	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*	1949	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (1/1), AC #25, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #20, HW, NYT, RG, WWA #26
16	*The Gunfighter*	1950	SP (A), GB, Oscar (0/1), AC #26, AFI, B, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #24, HW, IMDb, NYT, RG, WWA #83
17	*Winchester '73*	1950	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #28, B, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #77, IMDb, WWA #30
18	*Broken Arrow*	1950	SP (A), GB, Oscar (0/3), AC #21, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #46, HW, WWA #92
19	*Rio Grande*	1950	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #25, AFI, F&F, FGGW, H^2 #34, HW, WWA #38
20	*Bend of the River*	1952	SP (A/D), AC #37, AFI, FGGW, H, H^2 #23, WWA #93
21	*High Noon*	1952	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (4/7), 1001, AC #4, AFI #2, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #1, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #2

22	*The Naked Spur*	1953	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #35, B, F&F, FGGW, H^2 #41, NFR, RG, WWA #82
23	*Shane*	1953	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (1/6), 1001, AC #5, AFI #3, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #6, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #1
24	*Hondo*	1953	SP (A), GB, Oscar (0/1), AC #29, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #58, HW, WWA #89
25	*Johnny Guitar*	1954	SP (A), 1001, AC #7, AFI, B, FGGW, H, H^2 #63, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG
26	*Vera Cruz*	1954	SP (A), FGGW, H, H^2 #45, RG
27	*Bad Day at Black Rock*	1955	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/3), 1001, AC #9, FGGW, IMDb, NYT, RG, WWA #47
28	*The Far Country*	1955	SP (A/D), AC #60, FGGW, H, H^2 #39
29	*The Man From Laramie*	1955	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #30, B, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #31, HW, WWA #90
30	*The Searchers*	1956	SP (A/D), GB, 1001, AC #2, AFI #1, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #7, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #3
31	*Seven Men From Now*	1956	SP (A/D), AC #68, FGGW, H^2 #87, WWA #54
32	*Giant*	1956	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (1/10), 1001, AFI, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, WWA #94
33	*The Tall T*	1957	SP (A/D), AC #55, AFI, B, FGGW, H, H^2 #82, NFR, RG, WWA #49,
34	*Gunfight at the O.K. Corral*	1957	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/2), 1001, AC #65, B, F&F, FGGW, H^2 #27, WWA #62
35	*The Big Country*	1958	SP (A/D), Oscar (1/2), AFI, FGGW, H^2 #15, IMDb, WWA #40
36	*Man of the West*	1958	SP (A/D), 1001, B, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #95, RG, WWA #53
37	*Ride Lonesome*	1959	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #52, B, FGGW
38	*Rio Bravo*	1959	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #27, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #5, HW, IMDb, WWA #24
39	*Warlock*	1959	SP (A), B, FGGW, H^2 #25, HW, RG, WWA #77
40	*Comanche Station*	1960	SP (A/D), B, FGGW, H, H^2 #72
41	*The Magnificent Seven*	1960	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), AC #34, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #14, IMDb, NFR, RG, WWA #9
42	*The Alamo*	1960	SP (A/D), Oscar (1/7), AC #59, FGGW, WHA, WWA #34
43	*The Misfits*	1961	SP (A/D), C, H, HW, NYT, WWA #78

44	*One-Eyed Jacks*	1961	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #88, B, C, FGGW, H
45	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*	1962	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #19, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #18, IMDb, NFR, RG, WHA, WWA #17
46	*Lonely are the Brave*	1962	SP (A), AC #23, AFI, C, H, IMDb, RG, WWA #27
47	*Ride the High Country*	1962	SP (A/D), AC #44, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #11, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #19
48	*How the West was Won*	1963	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (3/8), AC #73, AFI, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #99, HW, NFR, WHA
49	*Hud*	1963	SP (A), Oscar (3/7), 1001, AC #40, C, H, HW, NYT, RG, WWA #29
50	*Cheyenne Autumn*	1964	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), AFI, C, FGGW, H, H^2 #76, HW, WHA
51	*Major Dundee*	1965	SP (A/D), AC #33, AFI, B, FGGW, H^2 #54, HW
52	*Cat Ballou*	1965	SP (A), Oscar (1/5), AC #54, AFI #10, F&F, FGGW, H^2 #96, HW, WWA #50
53	*The Sons of Katie Elder*	1965	SP (A), C, F&F, FGGW, H, WHA
54	*The Professionals*	1966	SP (A/D), OSCAR (0/3), AC #50, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #22, HW, WWA #63
55	*Fistful of Dollars*	1967	SP (A/D), F&F, GB, AC #36, B, C, FGGW, IMDb
56	*Hombre*	1967	SP (A), 1001, AC #39, FGGW, H^2 #28, HW, WWA #69
57	*For a Few Dollars More*	1967	SP (A/D), AC #36, B, C, F&F, FGGW, IMDb
58	*El Dorado*	1967	SP (A/D), B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #51, HW, IMDb, RG, WWA #65
59	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*	1967	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #36, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H^2 #69, IMDb #1, NYT, RG, WWA #12
60	*Will Penny*	1968	SP (A), AC #15, AFI, FGGW, H^2 #55, WHA, WWA #28
61	*Hang 'em High*	1968	SP (A), AC #78, C, F&F, FGGW, H
62	*Support Your Local Sheriff!*	1969	SP (A), AC #99, B, FGGW, HW, WWA #60
63	*Once Upon a Time in the West*	1969	SP (A/D), 1001, AC #1, B, F&F, FGGW, H^2 #36, IMDb #2, RG, NFR, WWA #37
64	*True Grit*	1969	SP (A), Oscar (1/2), AFI, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #32, HW, NYT, RG, WHA, WWA #13
65	*The Wild Bunch*	1969	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (0/2), 1001, AC #8, AFI #6, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #9, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #6

66	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*	1969	SP (A), GB, Oscar (4/7), 1001, AC #17, AFI #7, B, F&F, FGGW, H,H^2 #10, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #4
67	*Paint Your Wagon*	1969	SP (A), Oscar (0/1), AC #75, F&F, HW, NYT
68	*A Man Called Horse*	1970	SP (A), GB, C, FGGW, H, HW, WHA, WWA #68
69	*The Ballad of Cable Hogue*	1970	SP (A/D), C, FGGW, H, H^2 #21, NYT
70	*Two Mules for Sister Sara*	1970	SP (A/D), C, F&F, FGGW, H
71	*Monte Walsh*	1970	SP (A), AC #20, B, H^2 #52, RG, WWA #80
72	*Little Big Man*	1970	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #57, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #37, HW, IMDb, NYT, RG, WWA #31
73	*The Last Picture Show*	1971	SP (A), Oscar (2/8), 1001, AFI, NFR, NYT, WWA #45
74	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller*	1971	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #12, AFI #8, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #99
75	*The Cowboys*	1972	SP (A), F&F, GB, WHA, WWA #21
76	*Junior Bonner*	1972	SP (A/D), NYT, WWA #75
77	*Ulzana's Raid*	1972	SP (A), AC #31, B, C, FGGW, H, H^2 #59, HW, NYT, WWA #36
78	*Jeremiah Johnson*	1972	SP (A/D), AC #85, AFI, C, FGGW, H, H^2 #61, HW, WWA #20
79	*High Plains Drifter*	1973	SP (A/D), 1001, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, IMDb, WWA #84
80	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid*	1973	SP (A/D), 1001, B, FGGW, H, H^2 #40, HW, RG
81	*Blazing Saddles*	1974	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (0/3), 1001, AFI, F&F, FGGW, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #95
82	*The Missouri Breaks*	1976	SP (A/D), B, C, FGGW, H
83	*The Outlaw Josey Wales*	1976	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #84, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #38, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WWA #18
84	*The Shootist*	1976	SP (A/D), Oscar (0/1), AC #48, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #29, IMDb, NYT, RG, WWA #14
85	*Heaven's Gate*	1980	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (0/1), B, C, FGGW, H
86	*Pale Rider*	1985	SP (A/D), AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #98
87	*Silverado*	1985	SP (A), Oscar (0/2), AFI, C, F&F, H, WWA #35

88	*Young Guns*	1988	SP (A), C, F&F, H, WHA, WWA #73
89	*Dances with Wolves*	1990	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (7/12), 1001, AFI, B, C, F&F, FGGW, H, H^2 #30, HW, IMDb, NFR, RG, WHA, WWA #5
90	*Unforgiven*	1992	SP (A/D), Oscar (4/9), 1001, AC #6, AFI #4, B, C, F&F, H, FGGW, H^2 #16, HW, IMDb, NFR, NYT, RG, WHA, WWA #16
91	*The Last of the Mohicans*	1992	SP (A/D), Oscar (1/1), AC #47, B, H, HW, NFR*, WWA #44 * = credential transferred from 1920 film
92	*Geronimo: An American Legend*	1993	SP (A), Oscar (0/1), C, H, HW, WHA
93	*Tombstone*	1993	SP (A), AC #76, F&F, FGGW, H^2 #49, HW, IMDb, WWA #8
94	*Dead Man*	1996	SP (A), 1001, B, C, FGGW, H, IMDb
95	*Lone Star*	1996	SP (A), Oscar (0/1), 1001, AC #81, AFI, C, H, HW, NYT, RG
96	*Open Range*	2003	SP (A/D), AC #45, B, F&F, FGGW, WHA, WWA #10
97	*Brokeback Mountain*	2005	SP (A/D), GB, Oscar (3/8), 1001, AC #97
98	*3:10 to Yuma*	2007	SP (A), Oscar (0/2), AC #64*, B*, F&F, IMDb, NFR*, WHA, WWA #23 * = credentials transferred from 1957 film
99	*No Country for Old Men*	2007	SP (A/D), Oscar (4/8), 1001, AC #13, WWA #79
100	*Appaloosa*	2008	SP (A/D), AC #62, WHA

KEY: Filmography Credentials

- **SP (A/D)** = Star Power (Acting & Directing)
- **SP (A)** = Star Power (Acting)
- **GB** = Groundbreaking Western
- **Oscar (#/#)** = Academy Awards (wins/nominations)
- **1001** = 1001 Movies to See Before You Die (4th Ed., 2011)
- **AC** = American Cowboy Magazine's "The 100 Greatest Western Movies of All Time" (2011); # = Ranking
- **AFI** = American Film Institute's 50 Western Nominees; # = Top 10 Final Ranking
- **B** = Buscombe "100 Westerns" (2006)
- **C** = Cawelti "Chronological Listing of Major and Representative Western Films (1999)
- **F&F** = Agnew "The Old West in Fact & Film: History vs. Hollywood" (2012)
- **FGGW** = Hughes "Stagecoach to Tombstone: The Filmgoer's Guide to the Great Westerns" (2008)
- **H** = Hausladen "100 Major and Representative Western Films" (2003)
- **H^2** = Hoffmann "Western Film Highlights – Top 100 Films (1914-2001)" (2003); # = Ranking
- **HW** = Lawrence, "Hollywood's West" (2005)
- **IMDb** = Internet Movie Database
- **NFR** = National Film Registry Title
- **NYT** = The New York Times Guide to the Best 1000 Movies Ever Made (2004)
- **RG** = Simpson "The Rough Guide to Westerns – 50 Classic Westerns" (2006)
- **WHA** = Western Heritage Award Winner
- **WWA** = Western Writers of America's "Top 100 Westerns" (2008); # = Ranking

Filmography Selection Process (Two Cuts – Requirements and Credentials)

A Western earned a spot in the filmography if it was able to survive two cuts. First, the film had to meet five requirements, that it (1) is of feature length, (2) is available to the general public, (3) was released between 1939 and 2009, (4) is spatially set in North America, and (5) contains 'star power.' The first cut weeds out silent films, 'B' Westerns, and Australia-set Westerns but it also qualifies an avalanche of non-Westerns like *The Godfather* (1972), *Back to the Future* (1985), *Field of Dreams* (1989), and *Dumb and Dumber* (1994).

Therefore, all films were filtered a second time through twenty Western film credentials. Every time a film was mentioned in these credentials it augmented its chances of being selected to the filmography. I made a standard application of the credentials to all films, meaning that no credential carried more weight or importance than another. There was no benchmark set for the minimum number of credentials each Western needed to receive to be included in the filmography, but the break ended up being around four credentials (*Junior Bonner* and *Appaloosa*). On the opposite end, *Unforgiven* is the most decorated entry in the filmography, having garnered nineteen of the twenty credentials. The five requirements and twenty credentials are discussed below.

Requirement 1 – First Cinema, Feature Length, 'A' Westerns

The first requirement is that for a film to be a major Western it must be an 'A' Western and qualify as 'First Cinema.' Geographic research into film primarily focuses on First Cinema, or what Macdonald (1994) calls "The Cinema of Profit" (p. 29). Epic tentpole Hollywood blockbusters like *The Lone Ranger* that roll through movie theaters every summer are the best examples of First Cinema productions (and 'A' Westerns). However, researchers also make forays into Second and Third World Cinema. Macdonald deems Second Cinema "art cinema" (p.

32) because of its smaller budget and emphasis on realism (what some might also label 'indie' or 'arthouse' films) while Third Cinema is referred to as "The Cinema of Subversion" (p. 34) due to its critique or rejection of the western world's imperialistic, economic, social, political, or cultural tenets.

In narrowing down the vast number of First Cinema Westerns produced over the years, it is pertinent to separate the approximately seven thousand 'A' and 'B' Westerns (Buscombe, 2006a) that were briefly defined in chapter three. One measure that delineates the two is the movie's length. In its "100 Years . . . 100 Movies" series, the American Film Institute uses the requirement that each film their experts / jurors select be a "feature-length fiction film – narrative format, typically over 60 minutes in length" (American Film Institute, 2008b, p. 2). I would also add that 'A' Westerns have the most lasting impact on place images of the West and because these films are the ones that are talked about and remembered the most, lesser known documentaries and 'B' Westerns are excluded from contention.

All one hundred Westerns exceed 60 minutes, with *Ride Lonesome* being the shortest at 73 minutes and the director's cut of *Dances with Wolves* clocking in at a robust 236 minutes. When given the option, extended editions of films like *Major Dundee* and *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* as well as director's cuts of films like *Dances with Wolves* or *The Last Picture Show* were viewed in addition to the theatrical version of the film because these special cuts typically include more of the plot narrative that could assist in answering the research questions.

Requirement 2 – Availability / Visibility

For a film to qualify as a major Western, it has to be available to the public in some form so that it can be viewed enough to eventually become a successful entry in the genre. Certain television networks like AMC routinely air Westerns, but the main means of motion picture

availability comes via home video options that currently include Blu-ray, DVD, and VHS formats (Hughes, 2008) as well as Internet online streaming service from companies like Netflix. To be included in the filmography each film has to be available in at least one of these formats. As of January 2016, Netflix offers 90 of the 100 chosen films via their DVD-by-mail and streaming services. The remaining ten films were acquired via the local library, interlibrary loans, and even the foundering brick-and-mortar video rental stores (Peterson, 2013).

Early 'B' Westerns and especially the silent productions prove difficult to access today in any of the aforementioned video formats. This inaccessibility precludes Western fans from being familiar with the genre's early work, which would then have little effect on their perceptions of place. Because of low availability and familiarity, the filmography begins with the film that made John Wayne a movie star and that signals the emergence of the 'A' Western: John Ford's *Stagecoach*.

Requirement 3 – 1939-2009

Deciding the starting point of the filmography requires knowing the genre's history and evolution, which is discussed in chapter three. A number of watermark films could have started the list, including *The Great Train Robbery*,[12] *The Iron Horse* (1924), which was stalwart John Ford's first major Western, or even the Best Picture Oscar-winner, *Cimarron*. However, since the filmography highlights the major works of the genre, it is only right that it begin in 1939, Hollywood's annus mirabilis when the Western returned to prominence. Though *Jesse James*, a film that premiered two months before *Stagecoach*, has been deemed the more influential film

[12] While *The Great Train Robbery* of 1903 is considered the pioneer Western film, the Edison Company's 1894 "Bucking Bronco" has the distinction of being the first Western footage ever filmed (Frayling, 1981). Completed on October 16th, 1894, this footage consists of a brief 634 frames showing two cowboys involved in Buffalo Bill's Wild West (Welsh, 1983).

(Corliss, 1974) that speaks directly about the Great Depression (Stanfield, 1996), *Stagecoach* is widely credited with returning the genre to respectability (Nachbar, 1983; Johnson, 1996; Grant, 2003; Hausladen, 2003; Schatz, 2003). Credit is given to both of these films (McVeigh, 2007), but a few more Westerns released in 1939 fully ignited the genre's golden era that would burn for most of the next four decades, namely *Dodge City*, *Union Pacific*, *Drums Along the Mohawk*, and *Destry Rides Again*.

While 1939 is chosen for historically established reasons as the beginning of the filmography, 2008 is chosen as its termination date, meaning that no Westerns produced since 2009 are eligible for the list. This date was selected not because it signals a downturn in the genre, but because it reflects a symmetrical 70 year duration and a necessary passage of time. An equally attractive 75 year window could have been used that would have made films produced through 2013 eligible for consideration. However, the passage of time is required to assess a film's legacy as a major work in any film genre. There is no established precedent for how long critics must wait to gauge a film's impact, but at least five years seems sufficient, a time at which the hype surrounding most movies has died down and the legitimate entries in the genre resonate with audiences and, like cream separating from milk, float to the top.

Requirement 4 – North American West Setting

For inclusion in the filmography every Western has to be spatially set in the North American West for the majority of the picture. The first research question in chapter one is "Where are the spatial settings for major Westerns?" Since the aim of this research is to identify Western place images, it is therefore necessary that all the films are set in a single and consistent place, in this case, the American West. This removes a number of films from contention that have Western characteristics but were set in other locations, such as Australia, which precludes

films like *The Man from Snowy River* (1982), *Quigley Down Under*, and *The Proposition* (2005).[13]

In addition to the North American place requirement, certain films are excluded whose plots focus less on place and more on a distinct person. Purported biographical films that document the lives of significant Western figures like General Custer in *They Died with Their Boots On* (1941) and Wyatt Earp in *Wyatt Earp* (1994) demonstrate that the hagiography-like narrative is much more person based than place based, and since images of place and not people are the primary focus here, these two films are excluded from the list, despite the fact that with Errol Flynn and Kevin Costner they both contained considerable 'star power,' which is the fifth requirement of the filmography.

Requirement 5 – 'Star Power' – SP (A) and SP (A/D)

'Star power' is defined as the presence of significant and easily recognizable motion picture faces and talents that imbue a film with a greater potential to be a commercial success due in part to the film's broad visibility and availability, all of which augments the film's capability of impacting viewers' place imagery. 'Star power' is one of the key items that separates First Cinema from Second and Third Cinema.

'Star power' is also a defining feature of what comprises a major 'A' Western. Major entries in any genre exist in our social memory in part because they are created by movie stars. The 'stars' are usually the films' actors and directors since they are the most recognizable and influential faces and names of a film's production. Of course, other people beyond actors and

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[13] Astute Western fans, having looked over the filmography, may point out that *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* violates this North America criteria. Although the last 40 minutes of the 110 minute buddy film does transpire in Bolivia, the majority of the picture takes place in the U.S. More importantly, I would argue that with the lone exception of the film's final frame, the most significant place defining moments in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* occur in the U.S. during the duo's attempt to evade the Super Posse, an act that culminates in the titular characters' famous death defying cliff jump.

directors can achieve stardom. During the Western's heyday the composer received greater billing in the opening credits, as seen in *Red River* with Dimitri Tiomkin receiving penultimate billing with the same font size and just in front of producer / director Howard Hawks. Some established Western writers like Larry McMurtry for *The Last Picture Show* and *Brokeback Mountain* have been star players, but by and large it is the actors and directors that are the household names.

All one hundred Westerns in the filmography employ some form or combination of 'star power.' Every single film has acting 'star power,' which is shown with a 'SP (A)' abbreviation and sixty-three films contain both accomplished actors and directors, represented by 'SP (A/D).' In some cases, 'star power' is a deciding measure in selecting a film so it was included as a credential in the filmography in Table 4-1[14]. *3:10 to Yuma* was originally released in 1957 and then the remake premiered half a century later in 2007. While both have the credentials to qualify as major Westerns I did not want to include the same narrative twice, so I selected the 2007 version because the 'star power' and acting of Russell Crowe and Christian Bale is vastly superior to that of Glenn Ford and Van Heflin (Schickel, 2007), a fact that when paired with its color photography and modern production tastes would most likely make it a more enduring choice to prospective viewers.

The qualifications of what constitutes a 'movie star' are debatable. They include determining if someone is a household name, but even this is highly subjective because most people know the name John Wayne but others scratch their heads when they hear the name of

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[14] A Western with acting and directing star power would count for two credentials, while a Western with only acting star power would count for one credential. For this reason the star power requirement was included as a credential in Table 4-1.

another Western acting icon, Randolph Scott[15]. To address the early years of the filmography, I consult the American Film Institute's Top 50 American Screen Legends. Another of AFI's "100 Years" series, this collection of stars is right out of the mid-twentieth century since it only includes actors "whose screen debut occurred in or before 1950, or whose screen debut occurred after 1950 but whose death marked a completed body of work" (American Film Institute, 1999). Exactly half[16] of the stars acted in movies in the filmography even though some important Western icons are missing from AFI's list because Clint Eastwood, Lee Marvin, and Paul Newman all made their film debuts in the mid-1950s. Since every Western contains at least one acting star, I will not enumerate each name here, but a listing of each film's stars can be found in Appendix D.

Actors may be more instantly recognizable, but as mentioned in chapter two, auteur theory dictates that primary creative control and decision making in film lies with the director (Short, 1991). Therefore, directors more than anyone else have the greatest impact in the creation of a motion picture. Directors are the primary stars behind the camera and as such are worthy of 'star power' consideration.

In his extensive bibliographies and filmographies chapter, Cawelti (1999) provides a list of "Major Western Directors" that includes: Clint Eastwood, John Ford, William S. Hart,

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[15] I experienced this the first time I watched *Blazing Saddles*. Halfway through the film and in an effort to persuade the Johnsons / townspeople of Rock Ridge that he can save their town, Sheriff Bart utters the line "You'd do it for Randolph Scott." The townspeople respond with harmonious and reverent praise of Scott's name and then immediately comply with Bart's request. During my initial viewing of *Blazing Saddles* as a kid I did not understand this exchange. I do now.

[16] Fifteen actors and ten actresses comprise the 25 screen legends in the filmography. The actors list is a Who's Who of stars that includes Humphrey Bogart (#1), Jimmy Stewart (#3), Marlon Brando (#4), Henry Fonda (#6), Clark Gable (#7), Spencer Tracy (#9), Gary Cooper (#11), Gregory Peck (#12), John Wayne (#13), Kirk Douglas (#17), James Dean (#18), Burt Lancaster (#19), Robert Mitchum (#23), Edward G. Robinson (#24), and William Holden (#25). The ten actresses are Marilyn Monroe (#6), Elizabeth Taylor (#7), Marlene Dietrich (#9), Joan Crawford (#10), Barbara Stanwyck (#11), Claudette Colbert (#12), Grace Kelly (#13), Lillian Gish (#17), Shirley Temple (#18), and Lauren Bacall (#20). For a complete list of the screen legends, see Appendix C.

Anthony Mann, Howard Hawks, Sergio Leone, Sam Peckinpah, Budd Boetticher, Samuel Fuller, Henry Hathaway, William Wellman, Michael Curtiz, Raoul Walsh, Fritz Lang, Allan Dwan, Arthur Penn, King Vidor, Nicholas Ray, Richard Brooks, Marlon Brando, George Roy Hill, Sydney Pollack, and Don Siegel. This listing was considered but is not the definitive voice on 'star' directors due to a lack of name familiarity with a number of directors on the list, most notably Fuller, Lang, and Dwan.

Hoffmann (2000) and Buscombe (2006a) also offer listings of the great Western filmmakers, and through these three sources 'star power' was based on a director's (1) directing legacy both in Westerns and outside the genre, (2) scholarly criticism written about the director, (3) Academy award wins and nominations, and (4) overall name recognition that tells me, for example, that audiences recognize Howard Hawks as a major director more so than Henry Hathaway.

Twenty-seven 'star' directors are in the filmography[17], though five, known more for being leading men than leading a production, pulled double duty by directing themselves, including John Wayne in *The Alamo*, Marlon Brando in *One-Eyed Jacks*, Kevin Costner in *Dances with Wolves*, Ed Harris in *Appaloosa*, and Clint Eastwood across four different productions beginning with *High Plains Drifter* and ending with *Unforgiven*.

Filmography Credentials

After meeting the aforementioned requirements first cut, a Western was eligible for the filmography if it garnered enough Western credentials to make the top one hundred. The first

[17] The 27 'star' directors, listed by number of Westerns in the filmography, include: John Ford (10 films), Anthony Mann (6), Sam Peckinpah (6), Clint Eastwood (4), Sergio Leone (4), Budd Boetticher (3), John Sturges (3), Robert Altman (2), Kevin Costner (2), John Huston (2), Arthur Penn (2), Don Siegel (2), George Stevens (2), William Wyler (2), Marlon Brando (1), Mel Brooks (1), Richard Brooks (1), Michael Cimino (1), the Coen Brothers (1), Cecil B. DeMille (1), Ed Harris (1), Ang Lee (1), Michael Mann (1), Sydney Pollack (1), John Wayne (1), and Fred Zinnemann (1).

credential was if the Western proved groundbreaking in some way, and the rest of the credentials are spread out across what I call 'critical acclaim' and 'critical recognition.' 'Critical acclaim' is measured via the number of Oscar wins / nominations and Western Heritage Awards each film accumulated while 'critical recognition' is considered among the following four areas: academic scholars, film and print organizations, mass audience writers, and public opinion and popularity over time.

Groundbreaking Films

I argue that films with groundbreaking qualities are major works in the genre. My definition of a 'groundbreaking' film (GB) is one that (1) introduces new elements to the genre, (2) advances the genre forward in some way, (3) is historically significant, or (4) impacts future films in the genre or industry.

I argue that twenty of the Westerns in the filmography are groundbreaking though they did not need to meet all four parts of my definition. In fact, perhaps only *Stagecoach* could make a case for addressing all four areas. The film's "deft synthesis of the epic-historic and outlaw-biopic" (Schatz, 2003, p. 36) narrative serves as its contribution to the genre and one that advances it and made it more complex via its focus on developing the 'community' of characters within the Overland stagecoach. The film garners historical significance by elevating the genre back to respectability and altering the future of the Western and Hollywood by serving up two iconic figures that continue to intrigue audiences today: Monument Valley and John Wayne. *Stagecoach* aside, most films deemed 'groundbreaking' are significant in only one way.

Introducing New Elements to the Genre

A number of Westerns introduce new material to the art form, perhaps none more recently controversial than *Brokeback Mountain's* portrayal of a homosexual relationship

between two cowboys. But even before this, *Destry Rides Again*, *The Outlaw* (1941), and *Duel in the Sun*, (appropriately nicknamed 'Lust in the Dust') inject sex into the genre (Simpson, 2006), and latent 'male love story' (or male bonding, as some might see it) moments can be found in *Red River* (Simpson, 2006), *Warlock* (Buscombe, 2006a), and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* with Paul Newman (Butch Cassidy) himself saying the film was "a love affair between two men" (Simpson, 2006, p. 58). The difference here is that, Andy Warhol's *Lonesome Cowboy* (1968) aside (Schneider, 2011b), *Brokeback Mountain* is the first major Western to overtly depict homosexuality, though neither of the involved protagonists in the film identify as homosexual.

Additional new elements have been added to the genre besides sex. *Destry Rides Again* is the first film to seamlessly weave drama and comedy into a Western (Haining, 1997). *The Ox-Bow Incident*, the only 'A' Western produced during World War II, portrays "a Western town to be bleak, squalid and vicious" (Willett, 1970, p. 456) and in doing so "invented the dark tone that is unlike anything remotely seen in previous sound-era Westerns" (Simmon, 2003, p. 207). *Shane* grants audiences a "majestic view of the Tetons" (Dannenberg, 2006), while *The Wild Bunch* shocks viewers with the first use of slow motion gratuitous violence seen in a cinematic Western (Maynard, 1974).

Advancing the Genre

New elements typically progress the genre, though some more than others. Due, in part, to atrocities in World War II and the burgeoning civil rights movement, *Broken Arrow* is widely accepted as the first postwar 'A' Western to truly portray (Apache) Indians in a positive or sympathetic light (Hoffmann, 2003; Buscombe, 2006a; Buscombe, 2006b; Reid, 2011). *Hud* and *Hombre* started the shift toward more amoral heroes / protagonists (Maynard, 1974; Miller,

1996) but it is with the popularity of the Spaghetti Westerns, beginning with Sergio Leone's *Fistful of Dollars* and continuing through *Once Upon a Time in the West*, that truly ignites the trend (Buscombe, 2006a). *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* succeeds so masterfully in turning the classic Western loner character into a verbally sparing duo that it has "been a touchstone for bickering buddy pictures ever since" (Errigo, 2011, p. 500).

Historically Significant Films

Historical accuracy is irrelevant when determining the quality of a Western (Simpson, 2006), but historically significant films are always debatable. In this way, *High Noon* serves as a high watermark in Western cinema, thanks in no small part to the story stretching the genre by forsaking action in favor of dialogue, swapping exterior shots for suspenseful interior shots, and a rousing, bombastic musical score for the subdued perfection of Dimitri Tiompkin's Oscar-winning score compositions. But the primary reason for its significance lies with the film (potentially) serving as an allegory of the rampant McCarthyism in the early 1950s (Hoffmann, 2003) much like other films such as *Ulzana's Raid* (Pye, 1996) and *Dances with Wolves* (Walker, 1996) can be interpreted as Vietnam allegories.

Blazing Saddles, considered an extended riff on *High Noon*, is historically groundbreaking not solely because of its vulgarity (no clichéd Western culture group is spared), but also because it is regarded as the magnum opus of the parody (Turner, 1996) that invented the parody genre beyond Westerns (Krizanovich, 2011).

In terms of technology, *How the West Was Won* represents the most auspicious and final use of Cinerama, a virtual reality movie going experience from the 1950s and early 1960s that used three cameras projected onto a three panel movie screen (Strohmaier, 2008). Cinerama was

ultimately replaced by single camera, 70mm film (Hall, 1996), but the grand scope of *How the West Was Won* is clearly influenced by this precursor to the IMAX experience.

John Wayne appears in sixteen Westerns in the filmography, but he only dies in three of them. His deaths in *The Alamo*, playing the overmatched Davy Crockett, and *The Shootist* in the fitting coda to his film career and life, are heroic and fitting, if not expected deaths, especially in the case of Crockett. It is his shocking exit from *The Cowboys* that makes this film historically significant, because in it Wayne is not just killed, he is shot in the back and killed by a cowardly character played by Bruce Dern. For years following the film's release Dern could barely walk into an establishment in California without being verbally abused for what he did to Wayne on screen (Macnab, 1998). In fact, the fallout of breaking the Western code of shooting someone in the back became so severe that Dern claims the act derailed his career ("Bruce Dern", 2013).

Films that Impacted the Genre's Future

Films come along once in a blue moon that do more than just introduce new elements or evolve a genre, they impact the future of subsequent productions. *Jesse James* owns this distinction in terms of animal treatment. In an infamous scene in the film a live horse is forced off a 70-foot cliff into the water below where the horse ultimately drowned (Boggs, 2011). This outraged enough people to the point that animal welfare standards were created and the American Humane Association was granted access to movie sets to monitor animal treatment and to help ensure their famous 'No Animals Were Harmed' disclaimer (Simpson, 2006; American Humane Association, 2013).

The Gunfighter was incredibly influential (Simpson, 2006), entrenching the theme of the "world-weary gunfighter who has outlived his time and wants to settle down" (Buscombe, 2006a). This harder, less romantic story questions the nature and use of violence in solving

conflicts (Corkin, 2004), strips away the glorious gunfighter mystique, and shows a man haunted and ultimately doomed by his own celebrity status that he cannot outrun (Maynard, 1974). Portions of this elegiac story echo throughout numerous Westerns, including *High Noon*, *Shane*, *Ride the High Country*, *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*, and *Unforgiven*.

Westerns routinely employ picturesque landscapes as powerful characters in the story, and sometimes those vistas are so impressive that filmmakers consistently utilize the location. This can be said of the tiny community of Marfa, Texas. The filmmakers of *Giant* feature the sprawling, windblown west Texas landscape to such great affect that the experience irrevocably changed the old ranching town into a tourist destination (Joiner, 2006), and Hollywood continues to revisit the area, most notably in *No Country for Old Men* and *There Will Be Blood* (Burnett, 2011).

Not all films that impact the future of the genre end up being viewed as beneficial. *Heaven's Gate* just might be the single most destructive film the cinematic Western has ever endured. Michael Cimino's interpretation of the Johnson County War became "notorious in the annals of Hollywood both for the extravagance of its production and for its disastrous showing at the box office, which put the dampers on the further production of Westerns for a decade" (Buscombe, 2006a, p. 81). To be fair, by 1980 the Western was already on the downhill side of its golden era, but *Heaven's Gate* plummeted the genre to its nadir (Turner & Higgs, 1999) and along with Watergate has been referenced disparagingly in popular culture as a way to signify disaster, as seen by the Kevin Costner-helmed *Dances with Wolves* being derogatorily dubbed "Kevin's Gate" because of its filming and financial problems (Lacher, 2011).

Critical Acclaim – Oscars and the Western Heritage Award

In addition to being groundbreaking, I argue that Westerns become major entries in the genre through the accolades they receive. Since 1929 the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS) has annually recognized outstanding achievements in the film industry and remains the most prominent award an American filmmaker can receive. And though the Western is older than Oscar, historically the genre has not been embraced by the Academy or American critics (Kitses, 1969; Wallmann, 1999). To date, only four Westerns have received the prestigious Best Picture award: *Cimarron*, *Dances with Wolves, Unforgiven*, and *No Country for Old Men*. Forty-eight Westerns in the filmography have been nominated and twenty have won at least one Academy Award, which is represented in Table 4-1 with the 'Oscar' and then in parenthesis are the number of wins and overall nominations. For instance, *Stagecoach's* credential reads 'Oscar (2/7),' meaning it won two statues from seven total nominations. Table 4-2 contains the list of the twenty Westerns that garnered at least one Oscar. In essence, these are the Westerns that received the greatest acclaim from the most prestigious source in the motion picture industry.

Table 4-2: Academy Award-Winning Westerns in the Filmography

Stagecoach (1939) – 2 wins; 7 total nominations

- Actor in a Supporting Role (Thomas Mitchell)
- Music, Scoring

The Westerner (1940) – 1 win; 3 total nominations

- Actor in a Supporting Role (Walter Brennan)

The Treasure of the Sierra Madre (1948) – 3 wins; 4 total nominations

- Director (John Huston)
- Writing, Screenplay (John Huston)
- Actor in a Supporting Role (Walter Huston)

She Wore a Yellow Ribbon (1949) – 1 win; 1 nomination

- Cinematography, Color

High Noon (1952) – 4 wins; 7 total nominations
- Actor in a Leading Role (Gary Cooper)
- Film Editing
- Music, Original Song
- Music, Scoring of a Dramatic or Comedy Picture

Shane (1953) – 1 win; 6 total nominations
- Cinematography, Color

Giant (1956) – 1 win; 10 total nominations
- Director (George Stevens)

The Big Country (1958) – 1 win; 2 total nominations
- Actor in a Supporting Role (Burl Ives)

The Alamo (1960) – 1 win; 7 total nominations
- Sound

How the West Was Won (1963) – 3 wins; 8 total nominations
- Writing, Story and Screenplay – Written Directly for the Screen (James R. Webb)
- Film Editing
- Sound

Hud (1963) – 3 wins; 7 total nominations
- Actress in a Leading Role (Patricia Neal)
- Actor in a Supporting Role (Melvyn Douglas)
- Cinematography, Black-and-White

Cat Ballou (1965) – 1 win; 5 total nominations
- Actor in a Leading Role (Lee Marvin)

True Grit (1969) – 1 win; 2 total nominations
- Actor in a Leading Role (John Wayne)

Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid (1969) – 4 wins; 7 total nominations
- Writing, Story and Screenplay Based on Material Not Previously Published or Produced (William Goldman)
- Cinematography
- Music, Original Song
- Music, Original Score for a Motion Picture (Not a Musical)

The Last Picture Show (1971) – 2 wins; 8 total nominations
- Supporting Actor (Ben Johnson)
- Supporting Actress (Cloris Leachman)

Dances with Wolves (1990) – 7 wins; 12 total nominations

- *Picture* (Jim Wilson & Kevin Costner)
- Director (Kevin Costner)
- Writing, Screenplay Based on Material from Another Medium (Michael Blake)
- Cinematography
- Film Editing
- Music, Original Score
- Sound

The Last of the Mohicans (1992) – 1 win; 1 nomination

- Sound

Unforgiven (1992) – 4 wins; 9 total nominations

- *Picture* (Clint Eastwood)
- Director (Clint Eastwood)
- Actor in a Supporting Role (Gene Hackman)
- Film Editing

Brokeback Mountain (2005) – 3 wins; 8 total nominations

- Director (Ang Lee)
- Adapted Screenplay (Larry McMurtry & Diana Ossana)
- Original Score

No Country for Old Men (2007) – 4 wins; 8 total nominations

- *Picture* (Scott Rudin, Ethan Coen, & Joel Coen)
- Directors (Ethan Coen & Joel Coen)
- Writing, Adapted Screenplay (Joel Coen & Ethan Coen)
- Supporting Actor (Javier Bardem)

The Academy Awards are the benchmark for American cinematic achievement, but they are far from the only measuring stick of excellence. And while a gluttonous number of award organizations exist, very few deal solely with the Western. Among them, the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum has presented the Western Heritage Award (WHA) to deserving theatrical motion pictures since 1961. One unique attribute of this award, called the Bronze Wrangler Trophy, is that, unlike the Oscar, it is not always awarded annually (Table 4-3). In fact, it was only given out 11 times in the 30 years between 1973 and 2002, meaning that no Western was recognized an astounding 19 times during that stretch.

Table 4-3: Western Heritage Award Winners (1961-2009)

Year	Film
1961	*The Alamo*
1962	*The Comancheros*
1963	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*
1964	*How the West Was Won*
1965	*Cheyenne Autumn*
1966	*The Sons of Katie Elder*
1967	*Appaloosa*
1968	*The War Wagon*
1969	*Will Penny*
1970	*True Grit*
1971	*A Man Called Horse*
1972	*The Cowboys*
1973	None Awarded
1974	*The New Land*
1975	None Awarded
1976	*Bite the Bullet*
1977	None Awarded
1978	None Awarded
1979	None Awarded
1980	None Awarded
1981	*Heartland*
1982	None Awarded
1983	None Awarded
1984	*Never Cry Wolf*
1985	None Awarded
1986	None Awarded
1987	None Awarded
1988	None Awarded
1989	*Young Guns*
1990	None Awarded
1991	*Dances with Wolves*
1992	*Thousand Pieces of Gold*
1993	*Unforgiven*
1994	*Geronimo: An American Legend*
1995	*Legends of the Fall*
1996	None Awarded
1997	None Awarded
1998	None Awarded
1999	*The Hi-Lo Country*
2000	None Awarded
2001	None Awarded
2002	None Awarded
2003	*Spirit: Stallion of the Cimarron*
2004	*Open Range*
2005	None Awarded
2006	*The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada*

2007	*Truce*
2008	*3:10 to Yuma*
2009	*Appaloosa*

The winners of the Bronze Wrangler Trophy reflect the popularity of the genre in the 1960s, early 1970s, and early 1990s, as well as the dearth (not death) of genre pictures in the late 1970s and nearly all of the 1980s. Historically, the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum recognizes some of the more well-known Westerns such as *How the West Was Won*, *Young Guns*, *Open Range*, and *True Grit* (first in 1969 and again in 2010). However, this list underscores a movement to acknowledge obscure films, some of which stretch the traditional definition of a Western. *Nybyggarna* (1972) is a Swedish production of immigrants struggling in the New World (Minnesota) in the mid-nineteenth century. *Never Cry Wolf* parallels *Dances with Wolves* in more than just the title, in that a government researcher travels to the Canadian tundra to study some allegedly dangerous wolves. The researcher finds, as Dunbar did with the Sioux, that the wolves are not as much a threat as previously thought and that humans pose the greater hazard. *Thousand Pieces of Gold* (1991) is the tale of a young Chinese girl who forsakes marriage in China and ends up fending for herself in an 1880s Idaho gold-mining town. Lastly, *Spirit: Stallion of the Cimarron* (2003) is not live action but an animated Western, seen from the perspective of a wild buckskin horse named Spirit, who has no dialogue with any other character throughout the film. Instead, Spirit's story utilizes original songs. These films move the Western into new narrative territory, they further the debate about what comprises a Western film, and they demonstrate that the Western Heritage Museum does not recognize a stagnant or dated Western formula.

The Oscars and Western Heritage Awards recognize annual achievements in cinema, but they are not always accurate indicators of a film's legacy. While some Best Picture winners are

continually revered (e.g.: *Casablanca* (1942), *Lawrence of Arabia*, *The Godfather*, and *Schindler's List* (1993)), others are constantly reviled (e.g.: *Cavalcade* (1933), *Around the World in 80 Days* (1956), *Oliver!* (1968), and even *Dances with Wolves*). In fact, the editors of American Cowboy Magazine (2011) went so far as to label *Dances with Wolves* as the second worst Western of all-time. While I associate much of the *Dances with Wolves* loathing to be the result of a culturally accepted act by critics to disparage Kevin Costner's work[18] as being nothing more than an ego trip (Nashawaty, 2011), this does emphasize the point that voters do not always award the seminal films that end up being the measuring stick by which subsequent films are measured. Put another way, the Oscars recognize greatness at one point in time, but not necessarily for all time, and both are vital indicators of a major Western. In order to assess a film's worth after the lights of the Kodak Theatre[19] go down, one must look to a film's legacy.

Critical Recognition

A film's cinematic legacy is constantly in flux, derived from many sources such as written and public sentiment. Top ten lists pervade American culture and provide an objective indicator of cinematic heritage. All major Westerns in the filmography fulfill the five requirements and then demonstrate some combination of credentials, that they are groundbreaking or receive critical acclaim and / or critical recognition. Acclaim came via award

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[18] On his "opinionated and subjective" but wonderfully comprehensive website, Tim Dirks lists *Dances with Wolves* as undeserving of its Best Picture and Best Director Oscars. Other allegedly undeserving Oscars include John Wayne's Best Actor performance in *True Grit* and Best Supporting Actor Jack Palance's typical tough guy role in *City Slickers* (1991). Moreover, Dirks disparages *Cimarron's* Best Picture win for coming in "a weak year of nominees." If interested, visit http://www.filmsite.org/worstoscars.html to see what other films, directors, and actors / actresses Dirks considers unworthy of their thirteen pound statues.

[19] The Kodak Theatre is the 'home' to the Academy Awards ceremony. It has been since 2001 and will continue to host the Oscars through the year 2021. Visit http://www.kodaktheatre.com/academy_awards.htm for more information.

wins and nominations while recognition comes from four different areas: academic scholars, film and print organizations, mass audience writers, and public opinion and popularity over time.

Academic Scholars

Critics have written about the Western for nearly as long as it has been around. Westerns that continue to pervade film studies and other motion picture scholarship are typically chosen because of their strengths within the genre. Additional scholarly attention comes in the form of other lists, all by eclectic scholars from diverse disciplines. For example, of the following scholars Cawelti is an English professor, Hausladen is a geographer, Wright is a sociologist, Lawrence is a philosopher, and the Polish born Hoffmann teaches Latin.

What separates these scholars (sans Wright) from other Western film intellectuals is that they actually cook up a list of Westerns and directly serve them to the audience in the form of the best examples from the genre. Other writers blaze a much more indirect trail. They utilize perceived significant films as examples in their analysis and in so doing, imply their greatness to the reader. For example, Wright's (1975) assessment of the Western's popularity through his four plot types focuses on the money makers – all Westerns from 1930 through 1972 that grossed at least $4,000,000[20]. Popularity through ticket sales is but one way to assess Western cinematic significance.

Voytilla's (1999) analysis of the Western's mythic structure makes use of five Westerns: *High Noon*, *The Searchers*, *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, *Dances with Wolves*, and *Unforgiven*. These films could populate someone's top five[21], but he uses them judiciously as

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[20] For a listing of Wright's "Top Grossing Westerns of Each Year Since 1930," consult pages 30-32 in his book *Six Guns and Society* (1975).

[21] Four of Voytilla's five films match the Western Writers of America's top five Westerns, so his choices were culturally popular and critically revered. The lone exception was Eastwood's *Unforgiven*, but the WWA still ranked it at #16.

striking examples of his mythic components. In using these five films as examples he, advertently or not, elevates them to elite status in the reader's mind by implying that they contain elements distinctive of the Western. To whereas Voytilla offers examples to support his arguments, most Western scholars avoid proffering any such list of noteworthy films because it is a subjective action and rarely does it forward their thesis.

Mitchell (1996) cites two reasons for selecting the Westerns he discusses in his book. "They reveal a contemporary self-consciousness about ideals of masculine behavior, and they define a history of otherwise contested moments in popular culture" as well as having "a transformative effect on the genre itself, altering our ongoing sense of what the Western ought to be" (p. 8). His selection criteria are a mixture of popularity, American enculturation, and what Cawelti deems the 'family resemblance' method of 'I know a Western when I see one.'

Cawelti (1999), Hausladen (2003), and Hoffmann (2003) represent the academic scholars whose work I consulted foremost in determining the filmography. All three men write about Western cinema, and craft their own filmographies, though from different viewpoints. Almost thirty years after his instrumental *The Six-Gun Mystique* (1970), Cawelti (C) revises and expands his pioneering study of the genre in *The Six-Gun Mystique Sequel* (1999). In it he supplies "A Chronological Listing of Major and Representative Western Films." Regrettably, Cawelti does not explain what he means by "Major and Representative," nor does he go into any detail on the selection criteria of his 85 film and 7 television movie or miniseries list.[22] For comparison sake, my filmography shares 55 of Cawelti's films.

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[22] For Cawelti's "Major and Representative Western Films" listing, see Appendix E – Major and Representative Westerns Lists or pages 194 through 196 in *The Six-Gun Mystique Sequel* (1999).

Hausladen (2003) (H) borrows heavily from Cawelti even going so far as to use the same heading: “Major and Representative Western Films” (p. 304). His list has 100 entries[23] and he shares 78 of them with Cawelti. Regrettably, Hausladen also does not provide an explanation or justification for film inclusion or exclusion (no Spaghetti Westerns?) but because they differ on 22 films this does show Hausladen’s selections are not a duplicate of Cawelti’s work. My filmography shares 67 films with Hausladen’s list.

Lawrence (2005) also names Cawelti as one of the three sources paramount to his *Hollywood’s West* (HW) filmography along with films discussed by other writers in the volume and the nine Westerns listed in AFI’s 100 Greatest American films of all time. Though I only share 48 of Lawrence’s massive 168 film and television Western filmography, it does resemble my own in one key way: more than one outside influence contributed to the final list, but I exclude *Die Hard* (1988).

Intended as a complement to his *“A” Western Filmmakers* (2000) biographical dictionary, Henryk Hoffmann’s *Western Film Highlights* (2003) (H²) serves up the genre’s best entries from 1914-2001. Hoffmann chronicles each year’s outstanding achievements, Oscar wins and nominations, births / deaths, and a discussion section, but it is his Top 100 films[24] list (p. 145-163) that draws my attention. The list is stocked with traditional Westerns and I end up placing 62 of his 100 in the filmography. Cawelti, Hausladen, and Hoffmann’s work undoubtedly influence my filmography more so than any other scholars, but instead of solely

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[23] For Hausladen’s “Major and Representative Western Films” listing, see Appendix F – Major and Representative Westerns Lists or pages 304 through 306 in *Western Places, American Myths* (2003).

[24] For Hoffmann’s “Top 100 Films,” see Appendix G or consult his book *Western Film Highlights: The Best of the West 1914-2001*, pages 145-163.

revering academic researchers as the supreme authority in film selection, I also consult film and print organizations.

Film and Print Organizations

Four organizations that specialize in film (the American Film Institute), the Western film genre (the *American Cowboy* magazine and the Western Writers of America) and film criticism (the *New York Times*) provide lists that I consulted for this second form of critical recognition.

Former President (and Texan) Lyndon Johnson signed legislation in 1967 that created the American Film Institute (AFI), a national arts institute that exists with the distinct promise to "preserve the history of the motion picture, to honor the artists and their work, and to educate the next generation of storytellers" (American Film Institute, 2013). In addition to maintaining the legacy of American cinema, the nonprofit organization also educates the next generation of filmmakers and recognizes excellence in the industry. From 1998 through 2008, AFI applauded landmark achievements through their "100 Years . . . 100 Movies" series. The eleven part annual series celebrates different cinematic themes such as the greatest movies (1998, 2007), screen legends (1999), comedies (2000), thrillers (2001), romances (2002), heroes and villains (2003), songs (2004), quotes (2005), film scores (2005), musicals (2006), inspirations (2006), and the top ten films from ten genres (2008), one being the Western. The AFI Western 'jury' of select historians and scholars chose the top ten Westerns from a list of fifty nominees[25]. Their ten selections (Table 4-4) were chosen based on seven criteria, that the film: (1) is feature length (typically over 60 minutes), (2) was American made, (3) was a major award winner, (4) received

[25] To see the alphabetical list of AFI's 50 nominated Westerns, please consult Appendix H. Write-in selections from the jurors were accepted and encouraged. There is no mention of who / where the list of 50 nominated films originated.

critical recognition, (5) has enduring popularity, (6) has shown historical significance, and (7) has impacted American culture. It should be noted that only American made Westerns were eligible. As a result, the popular Spaghetti Westerns are absent from the list but I still select 47 of the 50 nominees for the filmography, including the entire top ten. The other three films are excluded because they precede the 1939-2009 release date requirement.

Table 4-4: AFI's Top 10 Westerns (2008)

1	*The Searchers* (1956)
2	*High Noon* (1952)
3	*Shane* (1953)
4	*Unforgiven* (1992)
5	*Red River* (1948)
6	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)
7	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)
8	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)
9	*Stagecoach* (1939)
10	*Cat Ballou* (1965)

The Western Writers of America (WWA) was founded in 1953 as a non-profit organization to promote, develop, and recognize literature of the American West. In 2008, over 600 professional writers chimed in when the WWA released the "100 Greatest Western Movies of All Time"[26] during their annual convention. Although it may seem tangential for an organization that focuses primarily on literature to release a list of the greatest Western films, the WWA does recognize screenwriting when it presents the Spur Award for Best Western Drama. Despite the WWA's credentials, their "100 Greatest Western Movies of All Time" list reflects an unsurprising affinity for films that were novel adaptations, including *Shane*, their top film. Seven of the top ten films are based on previously published content. Nine of the one hundred films precede the 1939 start date, but despite this 72 of the WWA's selections made the filmography.

[26] To see the Western Writers of America's Top 100 Western Movies, please consult Appendix B.

Not to be outdone, in 2011 the editors of American Cowboy Magazine (AC) published their own listing of "The 100 Greatest Western Movies of All Time."[27] Created as "a primer on heroes and what they represent" (p. VIII), the list encompasses more than just American made films, which was one drawback from the AFI list. As a result, the Spaghetti Westerns are not only included, but the editors bestow their prestigious #1 ranking on *Once Upon a Time in the West*. It should be noted that there are 104 films in the list because the editors apparently did not want to separately rank each entry in the John Ford Cavalry Trilogy (#25) and the Sergio Leone Dollars Trilogy (#36). Therefore, of the 104 Westerns given, nine precede 1939. So, from the remaining 95 films I select 70 for the filmography.

The three aforementioned organizations (AFI, WWA, AC) all focus solely on the Western. In wanting to expand the scope of critical recognition, the last print organization I consult judges every film genre: the film critics from *The New York Times* (NYT). They make my filmography of one hundred major Westerns seem rather quaint when compared to their incredibly prodigious *Guide to the Best 1,000 Movies Ever Made* (Nichols, 2004). The updated and revised second edition only contains films released between *The Jazz Singer* (1927), the first talkie, and the end of 2002. The collection is novel in that it does not just proffer what they see as the greatest motion pictures ever, but "presents the best movies of all time as they were seen for the first time" (Scott, 2004, p. xxiv) by providing the original NYT film review for each movie. Out of 1,000 movies, only 25 Westerns are included but 24 are in the filmography with only *Tell Them Willie Boy is Here* (1969) missing the cut. In addition, 10 more films that are not

[27] To see American Cowboy Magazine's list of *The 100 Greatest Western Movies of All Time* (2011), please consult Appendix I.

categorized as Westerns are included, which furthers the disparity in Western genre definitions, for a grand total of 34 entries represented in the filmography.

Mass Audience Writers

Academic research and Western / film organizations typically only reach niche audiences. Therefore, in trying to ascertain what the lay viewer considers a major Western, I turn to four works that focus on reaching a more mainstream audience: *1001 Movies You Must See Before You Die* (Schneider, 2011a), *The Rough Guide to Westerns* (Simpson, 2006), Stagecoach *to* Tombstone*: the Filmgoer's Guide to the Great Westerns* (Hughes, 2008) and Edward Buscombe's *100 Westerns* (2006a). All four sources provide critical recognition via their respective lists that were utilized in determining the filmography.

Western fans and film lovers in general would enjoy the sheer expanse of general editor Steven Schneider's (2011a) daunting *1001 Movies You Must See Before You Die* (1001). Schneider and his lengthy list of contributors want to motivate people to become more film savvy by offering up "a list that aims to do justice and give coverage to the entire history of the medium" (Schneider, 2011b, p. 8). In the introduction Schneider is one of the few authors to discuss the method for narrowing down and selecting the 1001 films. The beginning of the process "involved taking a close look at a number of existing 'greatest,' 'top,' 'favorite,' and 'best' film lists, and prioritizing titles based on the frequency with which they appeared" (p. 9). I use a similar tactic in consulting various lists to ascertain the critical recognition of major Westerns, and I choose 42 of Schneider's 1001 films for the filmography, including 35 Westerns, five dramas, one crime film, and one thriller.[28]

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[28] To see the 42 films taken from Schneider's *1001 Movies to See Before You Die* (2011a), please consult Appendix J. The five 'dramas' are *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, *Giant*, *The Last Picture Show*, *Brokeback Mountain*, and *No Country for Old Men*. The 'thriller' is *Bad Day at Black Rock*, and the 'crime' film is *Lone Star*.

Rough Guides is a publisher of travel and reference information that also branches out into popular culture, more specifically film. There have been Rough Guides published to examine horror, gangster, sci-fi, and comedy films. In *The Rough Guide to Westerns* (RG), author Paul Simpson (2006) seeks to "increase your enjoyment of the Western" (p. vii) by discussing the genre's origins, history, legends, archetypes, iconic locations, TV series, and, of prime interest here, his canon of 50 classic Westerns. Simpson does not reveal the method or process he uses for selecting his essential cowboy films save to say that he includes "only movies of a certain quality" (p. 51). It is unfortunate he never states what the 'certain quality' was, but after looking at his picks and seeing how he labels them 'classic' Westerns I contend that he focuses primarily on traditional narratives (spotlighting Turner's frontier) and largely ignores the 'Untold Stories' or the 'New West.' The most puzzling aspect of the book is the number of films in Simpson's canon. Despite being touted as 50 classic Westerns, for reasons unknown only 49 are discussed. Therefore, with *The Virginian* (1929) as the only pre-1939 Western, I end up selecting 41 of the 48 eligible films[29].

Western writers can come from anywhere, as evidenced by Jeremy Agnew, a biomedical electronics consultant by day and an Old West writer by night. His 2012 publication *The Old West in Fact and Film* (F&F) contains a 103 Western filmography that also aims for being representative over comprehensive and I share 54 of his choices.

Stagecoach *to* Tombstone*: The Filmgoers' Guide to the Great Westerns* (2008) (FGGW) is written by film and history writer Howard Hughes (not the wealthy aviator and business magnate). He acknowledges that Westerns have given cinema some of its most popular films,

[29] To see Simpson's 49 film canon from *The Rough Guide to Westerns* (2006), please consult Appendix K.

and he selects “27 key movies in order to reveal their place in western film history” (p. vii). That appears to be his primary motive behind selecting an odd and asymmetrical number of films. With the exception of *Forty Guns* (1957), all of his films are in my filmography. However, Hughes does include a much larger Western filmography at the end of the book that chronologically lists the ‘important’ films that he references in his writing[30]. When his 27 key selections are added to his supplemental filmography, Hughes identifies a total of 118 important Westerns that begins with *The Great Train Robbery* and ends a century later with *Open Range*. Nine films predate *Stagecoach*, so from the remaining 109, 75 make my filmography.

Hughes selection of 27 key films and another 91 important features for a total of 118 is hardly an attractive number, but it is perhaps (along with Lawrence’s 168 film list) more reflective of the vast impact the genre has had since its inception. Moreover, it serves as evidence that my filmography size is more aptly suited to one hundred films than to fifty films like many of the aforementioned lists.

The final writer whose work corroborates my selection of one hundred Westerns is Edward Buscombe, a Western film expert and writer for the British Film Institute who in 2006 published his own filmography in the BFI Screen Guide, *100 Westerns* (B). Buscombe’s ambition with the book is to “provide a helpful guide, both for those who know the Western genre and for those who do not” (p. xv). With this as his focus, it makes sense that his overriding principles for film selection are (1) to make a representative list (p. xi), (2) that gives weight to non-Hollywood films, (3) that includes films that developed the genre’s history (p. xii), (4) while also revealing the genre’s history, and (5) all *without* ensuring that the major stars were

[30] To see this Western filmography please consult Appendix L or pages 249-255 in Stagecoach *to* Tombstone*: The Filmgoers’ Guide to the Great Westerns* (2008).

represented proportionately to their importance (p. xiii). Nine of Buscombe's Westerns were released prior to *Stagecoach*, but from his remaining 91 selections we only shared 54, in large part because he crafts a representative list while I select a list of major Westerns.

I did not solely adopt and utilize Buscombe's list, or any of the other published lists of the top Westerns in cinema's history, because they were not created with the specific intention of answering my research questions concerning the place images that major Westerns have imparted since 1939.

Public Opinion and Popularity over Time

This critical recognition section seeks to consult as many sources as possible to determine the major Westerns in cinema history, as championed by academic scholars, film and print organizations, and mass audience publications. The final source comes from the audience themselves. Part of what makes a film's legacy is the audience's opinion of it and how it grows or wanes over time. Two resources supply the public's sentiment regarding the popularity of Western films: the National Film Registry and the Internet Movie Database.

In 1988, Congress created the National Film Registry (NFR) to forever secure the heritage of American cinema. Housed in the Library of Congress, the NFR annually selects up to twenty-five films. What makes the registry a barometer of public opinion is that the general public can vote for and influence what films the Library of Congress and members of the National Film Preservation Board select for entry to the registry. Voters can recommend up to fifty films per year provided they meet these two stipulations: (1) each film is a minimum of ten years old, and (2) each film is "culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant" (National Film Registry, 2016). Through 2015, there were 675 films in the registry, of which 42 could be

considered Westerns (Table 4-5), including the most recent addition for this writing, *Winchester '73* (National Film Registry, 2015).

Table 4-5: Westerns in the National Film Registry (through 2015)

#	*Western* (Release Year)	NFR Induction Year
1	*High Noon* (1952)	1989
2	*The Searchers* (1956)	1989
3	*The Great Train Robbery* (1903)	1990
4	*Red River* (1948)	1990
5	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948)	1990
6	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	1991
7	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	1992
8	*The Wind* (1928)	1993
9	*Shane* (1953)	1993
10	*Hell's Hinges* (1916)	1994
11	*The Last of the Mohicans* (1920)	1995
12	*Stagecoach* (1939)	1995
13	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	1996
14	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	1996
15	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	1997
16	*How the West Was Won* (1963)	1997
17	*The Last Picture Show* (1971)	1998
18	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	1998
19	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	1999
20	*The Tall T* (1957)	2000
21	*Wild and Woolly* (1917)	2002
22	*Melody Ranch* (1940)	2002
23	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	2003
24	*Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954)	2004
25	*Unforgiven* (1992)	2004
26	*Giant* (1956)	2005
27	*The Big Trail* (1930)	2006
28	*Blazing Saddles* (1974)	2006
29	*Oklahoma!* (1955)	2007
30	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	2007
31	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	2007
32	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	2008
33	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969)	2009
34	*Under Western Stars (1938)*	2009
35	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	2010
36	*The Iron Horse* (1924)	2011
37	*3:10 to Yuma* (1957)	2012
38	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	2013
39	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	2014
40	*Little Big Man* (1970)	2014
41	*The Mark of Zorro* (1920)	2015
42	*Winchester '73* (1950)	2015

Eight Westerns from this collection predate *Stagecoach*, but one of them is *The Last of the Mohicans*. While the 1920 rendition was never in contention for the filmography, the 1992 remake of James Fenimore Cooper's classic is, so I transfer this credential to the Michael Mann and Daniel Day-Lewis version. Similarly, the 1957 version of *3:10 to Yuma* is preserved by the NFR, so I bestow this credential to the 2007 version.

Popularity over Time

Despite the acclaim critics, scholars, and publishers may shower on a picture, it means little to audiences if the film is a 'rotten tomato,' which is also the name of a popular website that is known for, among other things, charting the popularity of a movie from both film critics and audiences. A film's rating can vacillate wildly in the days after its release, but after a few months its rating firms up. This website is useful to discern where a Western falls on the 'fresh' to 'rotten' scale, but instead I consult the Internet Movie Database (IMDb).

IMDb contains more information and less editorializing and Simpson (2006) uses it in *The Rough Guide to the Westerns* when he wants to identify "the people's choice" for favorite Westerns (p. 68). If audiences seek recommendations or a listing of critics' reviews, Rotten Tomatoes is the best option. But if audiences want more than opining, then IMDb is the better option and I utilize the site to gain information regarding a film's director(s), actors, writer(s), release dates, filming locations, and, obviously, its elaborate user rating[31].

Whereas Simpson took one snapshot in time, to assess the popularity of a Western I polled IMDb's top 50 Westerns five years apart to account for the variability that a single

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[31] From IMDb.com: "The formula for calculating the Top Rated 250 Titles gives a **true Bayesian estimate**: weighted rating (WR) = $(V \div (V+M)) \times R + (M \div (V+M)) \times C$ where:

R = average for the movie (mean) = (Rating)
V = number of votes for the movie = (votes)
M = minimum votes required to be listed in the Top 250
C = the mean vote across the whole report

sampling can provide. I surveyed the ratings in April 2008 and then again in April 2013 to see what films with at least 1,000 votes stayed in the top 50 over a five year span, which I figured was a long enough duration for a film's rating or popularity to be considered entrenched. I found that 40 films are on both lists. Both *3:10 to Yuma* films were on the lists, so removing the 1957 version means that 39 films retain their place somewhere in the top 50 over the duration of five years. *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* held the top spot throughout the five year stretch and *Once Upon a Time in the West* was second.

Conclusion

In sum, the filmography of one hundred major Westerns meets the five requirements of having (1) cinematic scale, (2) video availability / visibility, (3) premiered between 1939 and 2009, (4) been spatially set somewhere on the North American continent, and (5) contained 'star power.' They also were either groundbreaking films that pushed the genre into new narrative territory or they received acclaim and / or recognition across twenty different credentials.

There was no benchmark set for the minimum number of credentials each Western needed to gain entry to the filmography. While *Unforgiven* led the way with nineteen credentials, *Appaloosa* ended up receiving the lowest number of credentials (four) due to it having premiered after all but seven of my aforementioned credentials were published. So as to not penalize more recent Westerns (those released in the 2000s), the percentage of credentials they were eligible for and received was converted to a percentage and compared to the other entries. For instance, *Appaloosa* was only eligible for eight[32] of the twenty possible credentials. It received four out of

[32] Because of its September 17th, 2008 release date, the only eight credentials that *Appaloosa* is eligible to receive are (1) star power – acting, (2) star power – acting & directing, (3) groundbreaking, (4) Oscars, (5) *1001 Movies to See Before You Die* (2011), (6) *American Cowboy* Magazine's *The 100 Greatest Western Movies of All Time* (2011), (7) Agnew's *The Old West in Fact and Film* (2012), and (8) the Western Heritage Award.

the eight. If I apply that percentage to the films that were eligible for the majority of the credentials, *Appaloosa* would have received ten credentials, more than enough to make the filmography.

From a New Western History perspective, the filmography is full of Westerns with a Turnerian focus on the frontier, meaning that the plots involve people living on the frontier. It should be pointed out that these Westerns dominate the filmography not because of any preference I have but because the twenty credentials favor them as major and popular works in the genre. My intention in creating the filmography was to legitimize the selections by rooting them in the credible voices of the genre, not my own opinion. In addition to Turner, it is worth noting that all one hundred entries are live action films. There are no animated Westerns in the filmography, though animated features are more likely to influence children's place images of the West.

A quote from Solomons (2011) was used in the beginning of the chapter that describes the "impossibly painful task" (p. 6) of creating the data set for this research. Though the total time cannot be accurately determined, the filmography was an eight year odyssey for me in part because of my indecisiveness but more so because I wanted to be thorough in my examination of Western cinema in hopes of finding the best list of one hundred major Westerns to help me answer my research questions.

Chapter 5 - Spatial, Temporal, and Filming Location Research

RENO SMITH
Somebody’s always looking for something in this part of the West. To the historian it’s the Old West. To the writer it’s the Wild West. To the business man it’s the Undeveloped West. But to us this place is our West and I wish they’d leave us alone.

-Screenplay to *Bad Day at Black Rock*

I was stuck. While watching *Bad Day at Black Rock* to ascertain the film’s spatial setting I felt a little like Spencer Tracy’s character, John J. Macreedy, a one-armed World War II veteran who takes a train to the fictitious desert town of Black Rock looking to find a missing Japanese farmer named Komako[33]. Macreedy’s aptly named bad day includes nearly being run off the road, being physically assaulted, and encountering all manner of unfriendliness from the villain Smith and the rest of the town folk.

In a way, I thought Smith’s quote was aimed at me. Now I hadn’t been run off the road or attacked, but like Macreedy I was looking for something in this Western and I had been stymied through almost the entire film trying to figure out where this story takes place. First off, there were no narrative titles to tell me where in the West this Black Rock is located. Second, dialogue did not help narrow down the spatial setting aside from Macreedy being from Los Angeles and Tim, the sheriff, wondering if Macreedy was from the Phoenix, Tucson, or Mesa, Arizona area. So, this film could have been set in California, Arizona, or possibly even Nevada and I was ready to resign myself to not being able to map the film at all. Like Macreedy, I was stuck.

[33] *Bad Day at Black Rock* is a groundbreaking entry in the filmography since it is “the first major Hollywood movie to highlight the unjust treatment of Japanese-Americans in World War II.” (Simpson, 2006, p. 52).

And then, I saw it. Seventy-five minutes into the eighty-one minute film as Macreedy is fashioning a Molotov cocktail involving his tie while under rifle fire from Smith, he peers around the front fender of a Jeep and there above the bumper is a license plate with a clearly discernable "CAL" at the top (Figure 5-1).

Figure 5-1: *Bad Day at Black Rock* Spatial Setting Clue

Bad Day at Black Rock is set in California. Then I had an epiphany after the film's climax when a "Southern Pacific" train comes back to Black Rock: If Macreedy is from the west (L.A.) and the sheriff thought he was from the east (Phoenix area), perhaps that's because Black Rock is right in the middle, somewhere in the Colorado Desert on the California side of the CA / AZ border in an area that was served by the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Additional research corroborated this. *Bad Day at Black Rock's* screenwriter Millard Kaufman specifies in his screenplay that the fictitious and remote town is 156 miles from Phoenix and 211 miles from Los Angeles (Nixon, n.d.) and the Southern Pacific did have track there. In a matter of minutes I went from having nothing spatially to having a good argument for where to map the film.

Not all one hundred Westerns are as difficult or memorable to analyze as *Bad Day at Black Rock*, but a number of them do present some unique challenges, and a few of those are

discussed in this chapter that spotlights how I determine my spatial settings, temporal settings, and filming location findings. I present the results via maps, tables, and figures followed by a discussion of how I determine the settings or locations.

Spatial and Temporal Setting and Filming Location Results Maps and Tables

Figure 5-2 is a map of all the filmography's spatial settings and Table 5-1 lists the spatial and temporal settings as well as the filming locations[34] for all one hundred Westerns. Some films have multiple spatial settings (as well as filming locations) and they are listed in order of importance to the narrative, not chronologically, because significant settings shape place images more profoundly. For example, *Stagecoach* has an 'a' and 'b' spatial setting, meaning that the Lordsburg, New Mexico location is the primary spatial setting for the film and Tonto, Arizona is the secondary spatial setting.

The only settings listed chronologically rather than by their importance are for *Red River*, *Cheyenne Autumn*, *The Cowboys,* and *How the West Was Won.* In the case of the first three, their settings are listed chronologically because these stories all involve a clear beginning and a linear route to the destination that is better visualized in the order of occurrence rather than by importance.

How the West Was Won is a fifty-year narrative that is unique from the other Westerns in the filmography because it is clearly broken up into five relatively even chapters filmed by three different directors[35]. Its filming locations are also structured similarly, but instead of a 'p,' 's,' or 't' designation like the others are given, *How the West Was Won* has an 'a,' 'b,' 'c,' 'd,' and 'e'

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[34] A map of the filmography's filming locations is located in Figure 5-27.

[35] The three directors for *How the West Was Won*, listed by chapter in the order they occur in the credits, are:
"The Civil War" = John Ford
"The Railroad" = George Marshall
"The Rivers," "The Plains," "The Outlaws" = Henry Hathaway

for its filming locations and also for its settings. These labels align with each other. Therefore, to see the spatial setting and corresponding filming location for "The Rivers," find 48a.

Aside from *How the West Was Won*, I do not use the same lettering sequence to denote Westerns with multiple spatial settings and filming locations because for some films the primary spatial setting (a) may not be the primary filming location (p). Take, for instance, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*. The primary spatial setting is "Santa Fe, New Mexico," but the primary filming location is Burgos, Spain, the location used to film the secondary spatial setting, "near Fort Craig, New Mexico." The spatial settings and filming locations do not always match up.

Figure 5-2: Western Filmography Spatial Settings

Table 5-1: Spatial Setting, Temporal Setting and Filming Location Results

#	Film	Year	Spatial Setting(s)	Temporal Setting	Filming Location(s)
1	*Stagecoach*	1939	a - New Mexico (Lordsburg) b - Arizona (Tonto)	1880s	p - California (South) s - Monument Valley
2	*Jesse James*	1939	a - Missouri (Liberty) b - Minnesota (Northfield) c - Missouri (St. Joseph)	late 1860s - 1882	p - Missouri (Pineville) s - Missouri (Lake of the Ozarks)
3	*Dodge City*	1939	Kansas (Dodge City)	1866, 1872	p - Backlot (Warner) s - California (Warnerville)
4	*Union Pacific*	1939	a - Wyoming (Cheyenne) b - Utah (Promontory)	1865 - 1869	p - Studio Set s - Utah (Iron Springs)
5	*Drums Along the Mohawk*	1939	New York (Fort Dayton)	1776 - 1781	Utah (Dixie Nat'l Forest)
6	*Destry Rides Again*	1939	Plains (frontier cattle town)*	c. 1870s	p - Backlot (Universal) s - California (Kernville area)
7	*The Westerner*	1940	a - Texas (Langtry) b - Texas (Ft. Davis)	1882, 1884	Arizona (Canoa Ranch)
8	*The Ox-Bow Incident*	1943	Nevada (west-central cattle country)	1885	p - Backlot (20th Century Fox) s - California (Alabama Hills)
9	*My Darling Clementine*	1946	Arizona (Tombstone)	1881*	Monument Valley
10	*Duel in the Sun*	1946	Texas (near El Paso)	1880s	p - Arizona (Sonoita Valley) s - Arizona (Starr Pass) t - California (Lasky Mesa)
11	*Pursued*	1947	New Mexico (Glorieta area)	1898-1899	p - New Mexico (Gallup area) s - Backlot (Warner Bros)
12	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*	1948	a - Mexico (Sierra Madre Occidental Mts.) b - Mexico (Tampico)	1925	p - Mexico (Jungapeo area) s - California (Kernville area)
13	*Fort Apache*	1948	a - Arizona (Ft. Apache) b - Arizona (Dragoon Mts.)	early 1870s	p - Monument Valley s - California (Corriganville)
14	*Red River*	1948	Chisholm Trail Cattle Drive: a - Texas (Trans-Pecos) b - Red River (TX-OK border) c - Kansas (Abilene)	1865 (May-August)	Arizona (Elgin area)
15	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*	1949	Southern Plains	1876 (July 5-11)	Monument Valley
16	*The Gunfighter*	1950	Southwest (cattle town)*	1880s	p - Backlot (20th Century Fox) s - California (Lone Pine area)
17	*Winchester '73*	1950	Tascosa Trail: a - Kansas (Dodge City) b - Texas (Tascosa)	1876 (July)	p - Arizona (Tucson area) s - Backlot (Universal)
18	*Broken Arrow*	1950	a - Arizona (Mt. Graham) b - Arizona (Tucson)	1870	p - Arizona (Sedona area) s - Backlot (20th Century Fox)
19	*Rio Grande*	1950	Texas (Trans-Pecos Borderlands)	1879	Utah (Moab area)
20	*Bend of the River*	1952	Oregon (Mt. Hood)	mid 1850s	Oregon (Mt. Hood)
21	*High Noon*	1952	frontier town*	1870s	p - Backlot (Burbank) s - California (Sonora)

22	*The Naked Spur*	1953	Montana (near the Bozeman Trail)	1868	Colorado (Durango area)
23	*Shane*	1953	Wyoming (eastern cattle country)	c. 1890	p - Wyoming (Grand Teton Nat'l Park) s – Soundstage (Paramount)
24	*Hondo*	1953	Apachería (Mescalero Nation)	1870*	Mexico (Camargo area)
25	*Johnny Guitar*	1954	Central Arizona	c. early 1880s	Arizona (Sedona area)
26	*Vera Cruz*	1954	a - Mexico (Veracruz) b - Mexico (Mexico City)	1866	p - Mexico (Mexico City area) s - Mexico (Cuernavaca area) t - Mexico (Teotihuacan)
27	*Bad Day at Black Rock*	1955	California (Colorado Desert town)	1945	p - California (Lone Pine area) s - Studio Set (MGM)
28	*The Far Country*	1955	a - Canada (Dawson) b - Alaska (Skagway)	1896	p - Canada (Jasper Nat'l Park) s - Studio Set (Universal)
29	*The Man From Laramie*	1955	New Mexico (Apachería & Pueblo Nation areas)	c. 1870s	p - New Mexico (Tesuque Pueblo) s - New Mexico (Bonanza Creek Ranch)
30	*The Searchers*	1956	Texas (Comanche Nation near the Brazos River)	1868-1873	Monument Valley
31	*Seven Men From Now*	1956	Arizona (near the Gila River)	c. 1880s	p - California (Alabama Hills) s - Backlot (Paramount)
32	*Giant*	1956	West Texas	c. 1920s-1950s	Texas (Marfa area)
33	*The Tall T*	1957	Arizona (near Contention)	late 1880s	California (Alabama Hills)
34	*Gunfight at the O.K. Corral*	1957	a - Arizona (Tombstone) b - Kansas (Dodge City) c - Texas (Ft. Griffin)	1879 - 1881	p - Studio Set / Backlot s - Arizona (Old Tucson) t - Arizona (Sonoita Valley)
35	*The Big Country*	1958	Texas (Blanco Canyon)	c. 1880s	p - California (Drais Ranch) s - California (Red Rock Canyon)
36	*Man of the West*	1958	Texas Borderlands: a - Chihuahuan Desert Borderlands b - Texas Borderlands mountains & foothills	c. late 1880s	p - California (Red Rock Canyon) s - California (Conejo Ranch)
37	*Ride Lonesome*	1959	Arizona (near Bisbee)	c. 1880s	p - California (Alabama Hills) s - California (Olancha Sand Dunes)
38	*Rio Bravo*	1959	Texas (Presidio County)	c. 1870s	p - Arizona (Old Tucson) s - Studio Set
39	*Warlock*	1959	Desert Borderlands (southwest New Mexico)	1881	p - Backlot (20th Century Fox) s - Utah (Moab area)
40	*Comanche Station*	1960	New Mexico (east of Lordsburg)	c. 1880s	California (Alabama Hills)
41	*The Magnificent Seven*	1960	Northern Mexico	late 1880s	Mexico (Cuernavaca / Tepoztlan area)
42	*The Alamo*	1960	Texas (San Antonio)	1836	Texas (Brackettville area)
43	*The Misfits*	1961	Nevada (Reno area)	Present Day (1961)	p - Nevada (Misfits Flat) s - Nevada (Pyramid Lake area) t - Nevada (Dayton & Reno)
44	*One-Eyed Jacks*	1961	a - California (Monterey) b - Mexico (Sonora)	1880, 1885	p - California (Monterey) s - California (Death Valley Nat'l Park)

45	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*	1962	Arizona Desert Borderlands	c. 1880s	p - Studio Set (Paramount) & Backlot (MGM) s - California (Conejo Ranch)
46	*Lonely are the Brave*	1962	New Mexico (Sandia Mts.)	Present Day (1962)	New Mexico (Sandia Mts.)
47	*Ride the High Country*	1962	California (Coarsegold)	c. 1900s	p - California (Bronson Canyon) s - California (Mammoth Lakes)
48	*How the West was Won*	1963	a - Ohio River for "The Rivers" (Cave-in-Rock) b - Great Plains for "The Plains" (Cheyenne Nation) c - Shiloh, Tennessee for "The Civil War" d - Great Plains for "The Railroad" (Arapaho Nation) e - Arizona for "The Outlaws" (Kingman area)	c. 1839-1889	a - Ohio River (Cave-in-Rock St. Park) b - Colorado (Uncompahgre Nat'l Forest & Gunnison River) c - Studio Soundstage d -. South Dakota (Custer St. Park) e - Arizona (Tonto Nat'l Forest)
49	*Hud*	1963	Texas (Claude)	Present Day (1962)	Texas (Goodnight)
50	*Cheyenne Autumn*	1964	Cheyenne Autumn Trail: a - Oklahoma (Ft. Reno) b - Kansas (Dodge City) c - Nebraska (Ft. Robinson) d - South Dakota (Bear Butte) e - Montana (Lame Deer)	1878-1879	p - Monument Valley s - Utah (Moab area)
51	*Major Dundee*	1965	a - Mexico (Durango) b - New Mexico c - Rio Grande	1864-1865	p - Mexico (Durango) s - Mexico (Mexico City area)
52	*Cat Ballou*	1965	Wyoming (Hole-in-the-Wall)	1894	p - Colorado (Cañon City) s - Backlot (Columbia) t - Studio Set
53	*The Sons of Katie Elder*	1965	Texas (near Pecos)	1898	Mexico (Chupaderos area)
54	*The Professionals*	1966	Mexico (Chihuahuan Desert)	1917	p - Nevada (Valley of Fire St. Park) s - California (Death Valley Nat'l Park)
55	*Fistful of Dollars*	1967	Mexico Desert Borderlands	mid 1870s	p - Spain (Hoyo de Manzanares) s - Spain (Almería)
56	*Hombre*	1967	Arizona (north of Benson)	c. mid 1880s	p - Arizona (Helvetia Mine) s - Arizona (Old Tucson) t - Nevada (Jean Dry Lake Bed)
57	*For a Few Dollars More*	1967	Texas (El Paso area)	mid 1870s	p - Spain (Mini-Hollywood) s - Spain (Albaricoques)
58	*El Dorado*	1967	Texas (Trans-Pecos Borderlands)	c. late 1870s	p - Arizona (Old Tucson & Studio Set) s - Arizona (Saguaro Nat'l Park) t - Arizona (Sonoita Creek)
59	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*	1967	a - New Mexico (Santa Fe) b - New Mexico (near Ft. Craig)	1862	p - Spain (Burgos area) s - Spain (Tabernas area) t - Spain (Cabo de Gata area)
60	*Will Penny*	1968	a - Rocky Mts. b - High Plains	c. mid 1870s	p - California (Inyo Nat'l Forest) s - California (Owens Valley)

61	*Hang 'em High*	1968	Ft. Grant (Smith) in OK / Indian Territory	1889	p - Studio Set / Backlot (MGM) s - New Mexico (Las Cruces area) t – New Mexico (White Sands Nat'l Monument)
62	*Support Your Local Sheriff!*	1969	Black Hills frontier gold mining town	c. 1870s	Studio Set / Backlot (United Artists)
63	*Once Upon a Time in the West*	1969	Arizona (Flagstaff)	c. 1882	p - Spain (Tabernas area) s - Spain (La Calahorra area) t - Monument Valley
64	*True Grit*	1969	a - Indian Nations (Winding Stair Mts.) b - Arkansas (Ft. Smith) c - Arkansas (Yell County)	1880	p - Colorado (East of Ridgway) s - California (Hot Creek) t - Colorado (Ridgway)
65	*The Wild Bunch*	1969	a - Mexico Borderlands b - Texas border town	1913	p - Mexico (Parras) s - Mexico (Rio Nazas)
66	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*	1969	a - Wyoming (Carbon County) b - Wyoming (Hole-in-the-Wall)	1898*	p - Utah (Zion Nat'l Park) s - Colorado (Durango area)
67	*Paint Your Wagon*	1969	California (gold mining boom town)	1850-1851	Oregon (East Fork Eagle Creek)
68	*A Man Called Horse*	1970	Sioux Nation	1825-1826	Mexico (Durango area)
69	*The Ballad of Cable Hogue*	1970	Nevada (Basin & Range)	1909-1912	p - Nevada (Valley of Fire St. Park) s - Arizona (Apacheland Movie Ranch)
70	*Two Mules for Sister Sara*	1970	Mexico (Chihuahua)	1866	p - Mexico (Tlayacapan area) s - Mexico (Tlayacapan)
71	*Monte Walsh*	1970	New Mexico (southeast)	c. late 1880s	p - Arizona (Circle Z Ranch) s - Arizona (Mescal) t - Arizona (Old Tucson)
72	*Little Big Man*	1970	Northern Plains: a - Battle of the Little Bighorn b - Cheyenne Nation c - Washita Battlefield	1859-1876	p - Montana (Little Bighorn Nat'l Monument) s - Canada (Morley, AB area)
73	*The Last Picture Show*	1971	West Texas	1951-1952	Texas (Archer City)
74	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller*	1971	Washington (northeast zinc mining boom town)	1902	p - Canada (West Vancouver, BC area) s - Canada (Squamish, BC)
75	*The Cowboys*	1972	Cattle Drive: a - Montana (near Bozeman) b - Montana (Little Bighorn) c - South Dakota (Belle Fourche)	late 1870s	p - New Mexico (San Cristobal Ranch) s - Colorado (Pagosa Springs area)
76	*Junior Bonner*	1972	Arizona (Prescott)	Present Day (1971)	Arizona (Prescott)
77	*Ulzana's Raid*	1972	Arizona (Ft. Lowell area)	mid 1880s	p - Arizona (Rio Rico area) s - Nevada (Valley of Fire St. Park)
78	*Jeremiah Johnson*	1972	Montana (Crow Nation)	early 1850s	p - Utah (NE) s - Utah (SW)
79	*High Plains Drifter*	1973	Arizona (near Nogales)	mid 1880s	California (Mono Lake)
80	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid*	1973	a - New Mexico (Ft. Sumner) b - New Mexico (Lincoln)	1881, 1909	Mexico (Durango area)
81	*Blazing Saddles*	1974	frontier town*	1874	p - Backlot (Warner) s - California (Vasquez Rocks)
82	*The Missouri Breaks*	1976	Montana (Missouri River Breaks)	c. 1890s	Montana (Billings area)

83	*The Outlaw Josey Wales*	1976	a - Texas (Comanche Nation) b - Missouri (southwest) c - Indian Nations (Muscogee [Creek] Nation)	1865	p - Utah (Southern) s - California (Oroville area) t - Arizona (Mescal)
84	*The Shootist*	1976	Nevada (Carson City)	1901 (Jan 22-29)	p - Nevada (Carson City) s - Backlot (Burbank)
85	*Heaven's Gate*	1980	Wyoming (Johnson County)	1870, 1890, 1903	p - Montana (Glacier Nat'l Park) s - Idaho (Wallace)
86	*Pale Rider*	1985	California (Sierra Nevada gold country)	early 1880s	Idaho (Sawtooth Nat'l Recreation Area)
87	*Silverado*	1985	Southwest (cattle town)*	c. 1870s	p - New Mexico (Cook Ranch) s - New Mexico (Santa Fe area)
88	*Young Guns*	1988	New Mexico (Lincoln)	1877-1878	p - New Mexico (Los Cerrillos) s - New Mexico (Santa Fe area)
89	*Dances with Wolves*	1990	High Plains (Ft. Sedgewick area)	1863-1864	p - South Dakota (Rapid City area) s - South Dakota (Pierre area)
90	*Unforgiven*	1992	Wyoming (Niobrara headwaters)	1880-1881	p - Canada (Longview, AB area) s - Canada (Drumheller, AB area) t - Canada (Brooks, AB area)
91	*The Last of the Mohicans*	1992	New York (Ft. William Henry)	1757	p - North Carolina (Chimney Rock St. Park) s - North Carolina (Dupont St. Forest) t - North Carolina (Lake James)
92	*Geronimo: An American Legend*	1993	a - Arizona (San Carlos Reservation) b - Mexico (Canon de los Embudos) c - Arizona (Geronimo's final surrender site)	1884-1886	Utah (Moab area)
93	*Tombstone*	1993	Arizona (Tombstone)	1879 - 1885	p - Arizona (Mescal) s - Arizona (Elgin area) t - Arizona (Old Tucson)
94	*Dead Man*	1996	a - Sonoran Desert mining town in Arizona b - Makah Nation	c. early 1870s	p - Arizona (Sedona) s - Oregon (Grants Pass area)
95	*Lone Star*	1996	Texas Borderlands	Present Day (1995) & 1957	Texas (Eagle Pass)
96	*Open Range*	2003	Montana (Territorial Ranching Town)	1882	p - Canada (Stoney Indian Reserve, AB) s - Canada (Kinnear Ranch, AB)
97	*Brokeback Mountain*	2005	a - Wyoming (Bighorn Mts.) b - Wyoming (Riverton)	1963-1983	p - Canada (Kananaskis Country, AB) s - Canada (Calgary, AB area)
98	*3:10 to Yuma*	2007	a - Arizona (Contention area) b - Arizona (Bisbee)	late 1860s	p - New Mexico (Cook Ranch) s - New Mexico (Bonanza Creek Ranch) t - New Mexico (Diablo Canyon)

99	*No Country for Old Men*	2007	Texas Borderlands: a - Texas (Terrill County) b - Texas (Eagle Pass) c - Texas (Del Rio) d - Texas (El Paso) e - Texas (Odessa)	1980 (June)	p - Texas (Marfa area) s - New Mexico (Las Vegas)
100	*Appaloosa*	2008	a - New Mexico (southwest copper mining town) b - Mexico Bordertown	1882	p - New Mexico (Cook Ranch) s - Texas (Dripping Springs) t - New Mexico (Rio Chama)
			* = not mapped due to ambiguous spatial setting	* = historical events contradict the temporal setting	p = primary filming location s = secondary filming location t = tertiary filming location

Determining Settings and Locations in Film

Before embarking on this study I made it a rule to watch each Western at least twice[36]. It was important to watch them more than once because I found that each time I examined a Western I gleaned new details I had missed during my previous viewing(s). It was as if I had to watch it once to figure out the plot and then a few more times to fully complete my analysis of its settings and locations. With the exception of *Heaven's Gate* (twice), I studied every film at least three times. Each initial viewing was done on a 40-inch television because that is as close as I could get to experiencing the Western as it was intended: in a movie theater.

In addition, I also parsed through all the special features like production booklets, trailers, "making of" featurettes, timelines, and audio commentaries. So, if a film contained one or more audio commentaries I watched each one, a few of which provided some valuable filming location assistance and interesting insights into the world of movies.

While watching each film I took notes on a legal pad that I split into three sections for my three objectives: spatial setting, temporal setting, and filming location data. I wrote down the

[36] If the running times for all one hundred Westerns are added together my filmography is 11,858 minutes in length. As such, it would take over eight days to consecutively watch all one hundred Westerns just one time.

clues or information and took note of the time it transpired in the film, which was helpful if I needed to revisit something. In addition to my written notes, I also took visual notes in the form of screen captures. After watching the Western on my television I wanted to gain 'visual proof' of my results so I watched each entry on my laptop and hit 'print screen' on my computer to capture the image of something like a town name, Jesse James' gravestone, a recognizable landscape in the Alabama Hills, or the 'CAL' license plate from *Bad Day at Black Rock*. Other times character dialogue and exposition disclosed important information on the settings. My notes and screen captures[37] indicate both what was shown and what was said, which demonstrates the value of the DVD medium for this study. Unlike VHS, all but a few of the Westerns on DVD contain subtitles, and on multiple occasions the subtitles improved my findings. What follows here is an examination of the numerous and different ways I am able to pinpoint my data. I begin by looking at how previous writing aided my research efforts before then examining how I analyzed and determined my filmography's spatial settings, temporal settings, and filming locations.

Publications and Print Materials – Settings and Locations

Some of the publications that aid this research are mentioned in previous chapters. When a source is needed to back up my intuition I consult the Western film writing of numerous writers.

Books

Buscombe (2006a) provides the best temporal setting evidence of *Monte Walsh* and *Ulzana's Raid* by combining fictional and real characters with harsh realities. For *Walsh* he references the temporally sparse first half of the plot as a vignette toward the difficult times

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[37] I ended up taking 13,489 total screen captures from the one hundred major Westerns.

cowboys faced following the brutal winter of 1886-87. Because of vague temporal data in the film the temporal setting is established as 'circa late 1880s.' And *Ulzana's Raid* is "loosely based on an episode in 1885 when a Chircahua Apache, Ulzana, broke out of the reservation," (p. 209).

Some writers provide filming location assistance through examinations of specific locations like Arizona's Old Tucson Studios (Lawton, 2008) and Empire Ranch (Corkill & Hunt, 2012), and Hughes (2009) aims for the heart and nails it by studying Clint Eastwood's filmography. In this superbly detailed account of Eastwood's Westerns, Hughes takes Stier's work one step further by exhaustively listing not just the locations, but adds what transpired in the plot at each location. This is fantastic because I can then take it the next step and pick out the primary and, if necessary, secondary and tertiary locations. Thus, in the case of *Hang 'em High*, Fort Grant is MGM studios (primary), the lynching and non-backlot scenes are around Las Cruces, New Mexico (secondary), save for the brief (approximately three and a half minutes), but place-defining trek Cooper (Eastwood) makes with three rustlers through the world's largest gypsum dune fields at the White Sands National Monument (tertiary) (Mather & Thompson, 1995).

Newspapers

Newspaper publications also contribute to understanding filming locations and may even note when the locals don't want to get rid of the movie set (Cordova, 2007). The regional *Los Angeles Times* (King, 2007) documents that the wide open prairie scenes of *The Big Country* are courtesy of the Drais Ranch near Stockton, California (primary). The local *Claude News* in Texas temporarily changed its name to the "Vernal News" to publicize how Claude and the nearby town of Goodnight were the filming locations for *Hud* ("Vernal," 1962).

Perhaps the most helpful newspaper article comes via the *Chicago Tribune*. Stier lists two filming locations for *A Man Called Horse*: South Dakota's Custer State Park and Durango in Mexico, neither of which seems distinct from the other upon viewing the film. My lack of familiarity with both places led to my initially listing Custer State Park as the filming location since the terrain appears redolent of what I have seen of southwestern South Dakota, the plot involves the nearby Sioux, and members of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe appear in the film and are thanked in the final credits. But the lesson here is similar to that of journalism: always get a second source, and it comes via some *Chicago Tribune* movie fans. Star Richard Harris was not available until October and the threat of filming in snowy weather forced the filmmakers to eschew South Dakota in favor of Durango for more stable and cooperative weather (Higgins & Higgins, 1970). *Life* magazine confirms the Durango location (Alexander, 1969) and it is listed here as the primary film site.

Biographies

A peculiar way of verifying filming locations is through actor biographies, which are typically well researched. Biographies of Marlene Dietrich, John Wayne, Jack Nicholson, and Clint Eastwood pitch in here. *Marlene Dietrich: Life and Legend* (Bach, 1992) confirms the two relatively easy to identify locations in *Destry Rides Again*, and Davis's (1998) portrait of the Duke authenticates the San Cristobal Ranch as the primary filming location among three Santa Fe area possibilities. Similar concerns plague *The Missouri Breaks* until the revelation in Jack Nicholson's biography (McGilligan, 1994) that the crew lived in nearby Billings, Montana.

Pamphlets and Brochures

Tourism is and will continue to be an integral part of the American West economy (Zeman, 2002) and its marketing takes many forms, including pamphlets and brochures available

through chambers of commerce, museums, convenience stores, and souvenir shops that hype, for example, filming locations in and around Alberta, Canada, Moab, Utah, Ridgeway, Colorado, and Tuolumne County, California. Others exist solely online, including a nice, but hardly comprehensive, mapping of the movies shot in the Alabama Hills (http://issuu.com/rsigmanva/docs/alabamahills_brochure-ap_2015_low_/1?e=1106002/12530164).

Single Film Websites

In addition to print and online filming location brochures, the Internet contains a gluttonous amount of information, not all of which is accurate, about filming locations of movies in general (www.imdb.com; www.movie-locations.com) along with individual movies, and even the ability to view some of the most iconic locations via Google Street View (Eadicicco, 2014). Notably, a few films receive special treatment via thorough websites created by devoted fans. *Paint Your Wagon* is remembered mostly through narratives from locals (www.oregonicons.com/paintyourwagon.htm). Sergio Leone's five[38] Spaghetti Westerns are memorialized through repeat photography, links, and virtual tours utilizing Google Maps (www.fistfuloflocations.com). But the most helpful (and comprehensive) website is dedicated to *Brokeback Mountain* (www.findingbrokeback.com). Filming locations are listed, but the creators take it a step further by indexing them according to the filming location name or the movie name and they also provide the time the location is seen on the DVD. The most pertinent inclusions are the maps to the filming locations and there is an interesting map of Wyoming "showing places of interest to *Brokeback* enthusiasts" (Figure 5-3).

[38] Leone's five Spaghetti Westerns are *Fistful of Dollars*, *For a Few Dollars More*, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, *Once Upon a Time in the West*, and *Duck, You Sucker* (1972).

Figure 5-3: “Places of Interest” for *Brokeback Mountain* from Finding Brokeback Website

Of note on this map is director Ang Lee and co-writer Larry McMurtry’s estimation of where they would place the fictitious Brokeback Mountain if it existed. These impressions appear to be based on aesthetics (Lee) and economic reality (McMurtry) with “Lee’s Brokeback Area” northwest of Riverton and “McMurtry’s Brokeback Area” much further west into more plausible sheep herding country. I estimate the spatial setting is in the Bighorn Mountains a lot further to the northeast of Lee’s location, and I base much of this on the following exchange between Jack Twist (Jake Gyllenhaal) and his wife Lureen (Anne Hathaway).

```
                    LUREEN
Why can’t your buddy come down here to Texas
and fish?

                    JACK
           (in a hurry)
‘Cause the Bighorn Mountains ain’t in Texas.
```

Difference Between ‘Near’ and ‘Area’ – Spatial Settings

In Table 5-1 the terms “near” and “area” are used for different settings and the distinction between them should be made. In the case of *The Tall T* and *3:10 to Yuma* both are in Arizona and involve travel from Bisbee to Contention, but *The Tall T* is “near Contention” while *3:10 to*

Yuma is in the "Contention area." The difference is that some films contain references to geographic locations like a town but the plot or action never occurs in said town, so those Westerns are given the designation "near." But if a film takes place in the referenced location and in the corresponding vicinity, then it is labeled "area." Hence, in *The Tall T* Pat Brennan (Randolph Scott) is on his way to Contention but never arrives and the setting is labeled "near Contention," but the final 38 minutes (including the climax) of *3:10 to Yuma* occurs in the town of Contention, thereby earning it the "Contention area" description. The need for this distinction is necessary because simply listing the town of Contention, the most accurate spatial setting clue in the film, for *The Tall T* would have been inaccurate since Brennan never reached it. Furthermore, this level of detail is missing from Hausladen's (2003) analysis of Western spatial settings, but is necessary to draw conclusions about the significance of place imagery.

Narrative Exposition – Spatial and Temporal Settings

Narrative exposition is the revelation of important information about a character's background, history, or context. It is usually disclosed in cinema either via character dialogue or action, and this is far and away the primary way in which a film's spatial settings are communicated. Every Western in the filmography contains some dialogue that offers spatial setting clues; characters often verbalize geographic locations. For instance, in *Stagecoach* the cowardly driver, Buck (Andy Devine), clues the viewers into where the stagecoach and the film will go when he yells out the stops before the coach leaves Tonto, Arizona.

```
                BUCK
All aboard for Dry Fork, Apache Wells, Lee's
Ferry, and Lordsburg.
```

That small piece of narrative exposition allows the audience to follow the plot by knowing how many stops the stage will make and what the destination is, even if Lordsburg is the only location

that some might recognize. But it also signals another important clue about direction. If the stage starts in Tonto, Arizona, which is established by a Tonto Hotel sign behind Buck (Figure 5-4) and a previous reference to the town being in Arizona, and it ends in Lordsburg, New Mexico, then this story isn't about the expected westward voyage of nine distinct people, but one that travels east. This is significant because the geography of Westerns is more complex than a simplistic westward moving frontier.

Figure 5-4: Spatial Setting Establishment in *Stagecoach*

Sometimes the direction exposition is so specific that it allows for near pinpoint accuracy in identifying spatial settings. In *Young Guns*, there is a scene where Dick (Charlie Sheen) talks to Doc (Kiefer Sutherland) about the gang's next move.

```
                DICK
Well, we can't go north because Murphy's
got men coming out of Fort Sumner. We can't
go south because he's got Brady coming in.
East is no good because we got John Kinney
coming up now. We can go west through the
Valley of Fires but there's the Mescalero
Reservation.
```

Some Westerns were pretty stingy when it came to offering up spatial setting clues, and in the case of *High Plains Drifter*, there is only one solid clue in the entire film. Fearing that three recently released criminals might return to the fictitious town of Lago and exact vengeance for being incarcerated, the bigwigs of the Lago Mining Company turn control of the town over to a Stranger (Clint Eastwood) in hopes that he will protect them. When the Stranger's ways prove to be unorthodox, the town leaders question if they need his assistance and if the three wronged crooks will even return to seek retribution. This is where the only specific spatial clue is verbalized.

```
                  MORGAN
They're probably all blind drunk in some
Nogales whorehouse.

                  DRAKE
Well, if they're dead drunk in Nogales,
we'll know in 24 hours.
```

Drake's dialogue signals that Nogales is nearby, because if something happened they would know about it in a day's time. Combining this dialogue with the town's mining activities results in a south-central Arizona setting. Without Drake and Morgan's exchange only a regional (southwest) and / or occupational (mining town) label could be used for the spatial setting.

It stands to reason that if narrative exposition is a large provider of spatial setting information then it would also provide a wealth of temporal setting clues as well, but it does not. In fact, only two films use dialogue to reveal the date, the aforementioned *Bad Day at Black Rock*[39] and the Mel Brooks parody, *Blazing Saddles*[40]. In both cases, the dialogue seems

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[39] *Bad Day at Black Rock*: "This is 1945, mister. There's been a war on."

[40] *Blazing Saddles*: "This is 1874. You'll be able to sue her," with the 'her' referring to a running gag whereby the villain, Hedley Lamarr, is routinely confused with and called Hedy Lamarr. Brooks' line proved prescient because after the film's release the real Hedy Lamarr didn't find the joke real amusing considering she filed a $10 million invasion of privacy lawsuit against Brooks and Warner Communications, Inc., a case that was eventually settled out of court (Shearer, 2010).

awkward since we rarely invoke the current year in our daily conversations, and this demonstrates the value and power of images over words in the medium.

Filmmakers occasionally substitute voiceovers for actual character dialogue as a quick way of divulging temporal information. In *Broken Arrow*, as protagonist Tom Jeffords (James Stewart) rides into the frame for the first time we hear Stewart's distinctive voice set the scene that the year is 1870. And Lieutenant Britton Davis (Matt Damon) gravely closes *Geronimo: An American Legend* by stating the exact date (September 4th, 1886) of the titular character's final surrender to the U.S. Army. Again, voiceovers are a rare narrative device for Westerns because they disturb the images on screen. Perhaps because the visual is more valuable than the verbal, filmmakers instead turn to narrative titles.

Narrative Titles – Spatial and Temporal Settings

The presence of narrative titles is the easiest way to discern a film's spatial and temporal setting. I use film editor and Sam Peckinpah-expert Paul Seydor's definition of narrative titles that he states in his audio commentary for *Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid*, considered the most accurate interpretation of William Bonney's story (Slatta, 2001), that narrative titles are "titles that tell you the time and place of the story" (Seydor, Director Commentary, 2005). These credit-like titles are used to show the spatial and / or temporal setting on the screen during the opening shot to begin the film (Figure 5-5), in the foreword (Figure 5-6), in the prologue following the opening credits (Figure 5-7), or during the establishing shot of a new scene (Figure 5-8). As these examples show, the titles may simply include the place and time or they may include additional exposition.

Figure 5-5: Opening Shot Narrative Title Example from *Appaloosa*

Figure 5-6: Foreword Narrative Title Example from *Major Dundee*

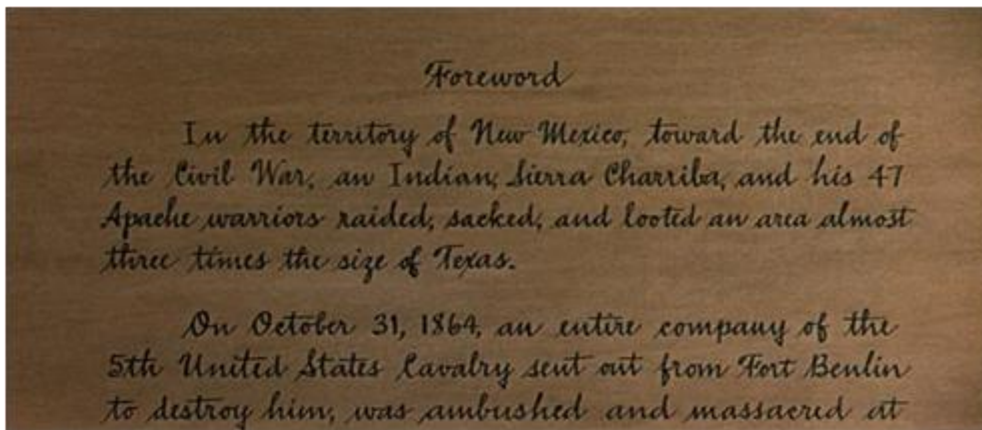
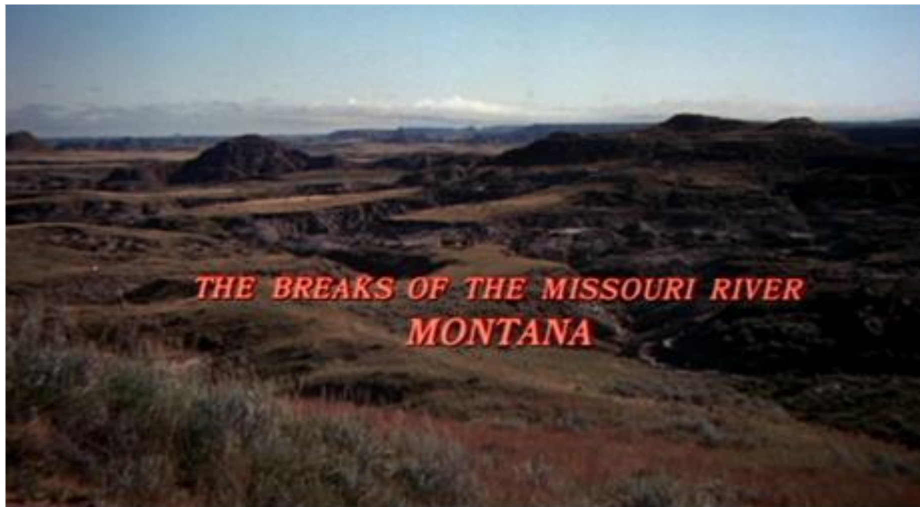


Figure 5-7: Post Credits Narrative Title Example from *The Far Country*

Figure 5-8: Establishing Shot Narrative Title Example from *The Missouri Breaks*



Twenty-two Westerns in the filmography contain narrative title information near the beginning of the film, and though it might seem like this would make identifying the settings incredibly easy, it is far from an simple exercise. Westerns like *The Gunfighter* ("In the Southwest of the 1880s") and *The Ox-Bow Incident* ("Nevada – 1885") deliver broad starting points but they do not supply the viewer with more specific settings within the Southwest or Nevada. A film may provide nothing more than a fictitious cattle town like Cayenne in *The Gunfighter*, or in *The Ox-Bow Incident* one obscure reference to Reno, Nevada and someone saying the setting is on a road over 8,000 foot elevation. As a result, I cannot narrow down the spatial setting for *The Gunfighter*, and the setting of *The Ox-Bow Incident*, though more specific, is arguable.

Another issue that narrative titles create is they give the viewer a starting point, but often the plot moves to other locations. The "St. David's Field – Tennessee" narrative title at the beginning of *Dances with Wolves* portrays a Civil War skirmish but then the setting quickly shifts to Fort Hays and eventually Fort Sedgewick on the High Plains, both of which are established through narrative exposition and not narrative titles. So, the presence of narrative

titles is no guarantee of an accurate spatial setting, nor being able to map the Western, but it does allow a good jumping off point.

The usage of narrative titles to orient the viewer to the spatial setting is fairly consistent throughout the filmography, with at least one Western and no more than four utilizing them in each decade. They have not gone out of style or changed much and I always wonder why certain filmmakers opt to use them when others do not, especially for spatially vague films like *High Noon*, *Destry Rides Again*, and *Dead Man.*

American Indian[41] Homelands – Spatial Settings

Before I began watching the filmography I did not expect that Westerns involving or mentioning American Indians would be such a great source of spatial setting information, but when I ran into films that had very few spatial clues I found a tribe's homeland[42] quite useful to help narrow down the setting's general vicinity.

Forty-one of the one hundred Westerns mention American Indians in a way that aids the identification of spatial settings. As might be expected, the majority of Indian portrayals are as antagonists and there are only seven[43] in which they are protagonists. Table 5-2 provides a breakdown of what tribes are mentioned (some films reference multiple tribes) and the number of Westerns in which they are mentioned or appear.

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[41] I use the term 'American Indian' over 'Native American' primarily because of the results of a 1995 Census Bureau and Bureau of Labor Statistics survey (the last survey of its kind that I could find) that asked indigenous Americans what they prefer to be called. The results found 49% prefer 'American Indian,' and 37% 'Native American' (Tucker et. al, 1995).

[42] The sources I consult for tribal homelands are maps from the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum (1990) and National Geographic (2004).

[43] The seven Westerns with American Indians as protagonists are relatively recent and include *Broken Arrow*, *Cheyenne Autumn*, *Little Big Man*, *Dances with Wolves*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *Geronimo: An American Legend*, and *Dead Man*.

Table 5-2: American Indian Nations in the Filmography

	Tribe	# of Films
1	Apache	16
2	Comanche	8
3	Sioux	6
4	Cheyenne	5
5	Arapaho	2
6	Crow	2
7	Shoshone	2
8	Yaqui	2
9	Blackfeet	2
10	Huron	1
11	Mohican	1
12	Paiute	1
13	Pawnee	1
14	Pueblo	1
15	Unknown	4
	TOTAL	54

Far and away the dominant cinematic nation is the Apache. Mentioned in the first entry in the filmography, *Stagecoach*, and the last, *Appaloosa*, with twice as many appearances as any other nation, it's the Apache (the Chiricahua primarily) that have captivated film creators and audiences, and in doing so have strongly concentrated Western spatial settings in southeast Arizona and also into southwest New Mexico.

The Apache's prevalence in Westerns is strongly tied to its famous leaders. Some of the most renowned and recognizable American Indians in history are Apaches, including Vittorio, Cochise, and arguably the most famous of them all, Geronimo, whose ability to evade capture by the U.S. Army for a number of years is the focus of *Geronimo: An American Legend*. Even titles like this film elevate Apache lore and mystique while providing a commentary on Apache treatment by the U.S. government.

The only other tribe that might be able to compete with the Apache in terms of famous leaders are the Sioux, but despite their well-known success at the Battle of the Little Bighorn, the Sioux are not nearly as pervasive in the filmography as the Apache. The aforementioned battle

against George Armstrong Custer is referenced multiple times but only portrayed in one film (*Little Big Man*, and it is clearly played to comedy) and, oddly, great Sioux chiefs like Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse are mentioned (but not seen) just once, at the beginning of *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*.

The Comanche presence in the filmography is interesting because in two of the Westerns that mention or portray the Comanche (*Giant* and *The Big Country*) they are completely absent as screen actors. We don't see them, they are only mentioned to have once occupied the area of the film's plot / spatial setting many years prior. In essence, the Comanche are no longer in the area, but their name along with a strong reputation for horsemanship (Betty, 2002) and fierce protection of their homeland through starvation (Foster, 1992) allows me to narrow down the film's spatial setting.

Maps Provide Clues – Spatial Settings

An obvious way that spatial settings are established is through the usage and visibility of maps. Eighteen Westerns provide viewers with some spatial information via a map used by a character or produced by the filmmakers and superimposed onto the screen.

Six of the maps are wall maps that simply hang on the wall of a room, perhaps that of a sheriff's office (Figure 5-9) or a fort's headquarters (Figure 5-10) and give the audience a taste of where the plot is set. None of these maps surrender much detail, but they at least offer up the name or shape of a state or territory.

Figure 5-9: Wall Map of Texas from *Rio Bravo*

Figure 5-10: Wall Map of Arizona from *Ulzana's Raid*

The other twelve maps serve more as a focal point for the audience, strategically placed to geographically orient the audience in some way. Some are superimposed maps following the opening credits sequence like in *The Westerner* (Figure 5-11), which portrays the Trans-Pecos region of Texas in setting up the story of Judge Roy Bean. The inclusion of Fort Davis proves significant in the climax of the film and ultimately is the secondary spatial setting.

Figure 5-11: Post-Opening Credits Superimposed Map from *The Westerner*

When characters consult maps on screen I am able to see where the action takes place, and for *The Professionals* and *The Wild Bunch*, these interactions and dialogue provide the only real clue for mapping each film's spatial settings. To be clear, watching the film provides me a spatial setting in name, but the map scenes allow me to pinpoint a geographic coordinate for mapping.

For example, in *The Professionals*, Mr. Grant's wife is kidnapped and he hires four uniquely talented men to bring her back. She is taken by the antagonists one hundred miles across the desert. He does not specify which desert, which frustrates my mapping efforts until I see that he points on a map south of Texas in an area that could only be the Chihuahuan Desert, which is therefore the spatial setting. I map *The Professionals* setting by placing the dot 100 miles into Mexico from where he has his cigar in Figure 5-12.

Figure 5-12: Chihuahuan Desert Clue in *The Professionals*

The Wild Bunch gallivants back and forth across the Mexico and Texas borderlands, but since the Texas-Mexico border is over 1,200 miles in length, I did not know where to map the film's spatial setting. However, the best clue came when one of the protagonists points to a potential railroad target in Texas (Figure 5-13). I place the secondary setting (65b) in this area and the primary setting (65a) on the other side of the border.

Figure 5-13: Secondary Spatial Setting in *The Wild Bunch*

Maps on the screen also help pinpoint a fake locale in a real area. For example, in *Major Dundee* the title character (portrayed by Charlton Heston) points to a location on a map thirty

miles away from the fictitious Fort Benlin (Figure 5-14) and this is essential for me to map this place as the secondary spatial setting.

Figure 5-14: Approximate Location for the Fictitious Fort Benlin in *Major Dundee*

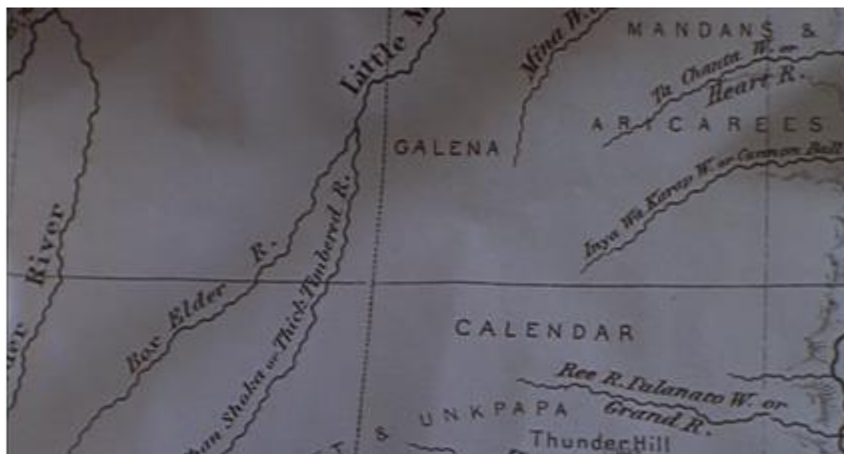
This example also exhibits the importance of viewing the filmography in the DVD format. The quality of pausing the film on DVD versus VHS for looking at a map or a newspaper date allows for a clearer image to inspect as well as the opportunity to illustrate examples with screen captures.

Some maps are puzzling and contradict the location information presented via exposition. For example, in *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* (Figure 5-15) there is a view of Wyatt Earp's office with a county map of Missouri and eastern Kansas in the background. This map is a curious inclusion by the filmmakers since it is seen while Earp is cleaning up Dodge City, Kansas, which is located at the 100th meridian in western Kansas and is not on the map hanging in Earp's office.

Figure 5-15: Misleading Map from *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral*

By far the most perplexing map is in the comedy *Support Your Local Sheriff!* (Figure 5-16). Galena and Calendar are two towns and the surrounding physical features and names bring western South Dakota and western North Dakota to mind, but this is a fictitious map that hinders more than it helps. Nonetheless, without this map, the setting would be logged as a "gold mining frontier town."

Figure 5-16: Spatial Setting of *Support Your Local Sheriff!*



Forts – Spatial and Temporal Settings

The mention of U.S. Army forts scattered throughout the West also provides information to help identify spatial settings. These clues come in two types. The forts may be real or fictitious and they may either be visited or mentioned but not visually portrayed.

Thirteen Westerns spend time in a fort on the American frontier. Most fort names are presented through exposition while others are in narrative titles, like in *Drums Along the Mohawk*, or in signs that show the name of the fort. This is the key way that I narrow down the mapping for *Dances with Wolves*, a Western involving the Sioux. However, instead of a South Dakota location as some might expect, I argue that Dunbar's post, Fort Sedgewick, (Figure 5-17) is the actual Fort Sedgewick that existed in extreme northeastern Colorado. The Sioux camp that over time captures Dunbar's soul is in close proximity to Fort Sedgewick, so I use the fort to map the setting[44].

Figure 5-17: Spatial Setting of *Dances with Wolves*

Over twenty Westerns reference military forts through dialogue, and Beck and Haase (1989) provide a valuable resource on fort locations with their map[45] detailing many (but not all) "U.S. Military Forts 1819-1895," (p. 37) which is especially helpful when forts are simply referenced by character exposition. The secondary spatial setting for *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* is established this way. Prior to Tuco's (Eli Wallach) savage beating, Angel Eyes (Lee Van

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[44] In the Special Edition, the film erroneously suggests mountains are near Fort Sedgewick in a scene where Dunbar and Kicking Bird ride, allegedly within the course of one day, from the Sioux camp to a mountainous sacred place that was filmed near Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

[45] A copy of Beck and Haase's (1989) "U.S. Military Forts 1819-1895" map can be found in Appendix M.

Cleef) says that Tuco and Blondie (Clint Eastwood) were captured near Ft. Craig in New Mexico (Figure 5-18). This single mention of the fort helps map the ambiguous setting in the second half of the film featuring the bridge explosion, the Andersonville-like Union POW camp, and the famous, operatic cemetery truel that Eastwood himself said drifted toward extravagance (Nashawaty, 2005).

Figure 5-18: Secondary Spatial Setting of *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*

Forts serve as bastions of civilization in Westerns, and in keeping with the myth of the genre, seven forts used throughout the filmography are fictitious. John Ford proves to be a fan of recycling names. He uses the fictitious 'Fort Starke' in the last two chapters of his Cavalry Trilogy to represent the Southern Plains in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* and the Trans-Pecos Borderlands of Texas in *Rio Grande*, but this shouldn't be too much of a surprise considering John Wayne plays a cavalry officer named Kirby Yorke in both *Fort Apache* and *Rio Grande*.

Some fictional forts give absolutely no clue as to their spatial setting (Fort James in *Warlock*) while others are stand-ins for real places. For example, the primary spatial setting for *Hang 'em High* is called Fort Grant but is a stand-in for the real-life Fort Smith (hence 'Smith' being in parenthesis in Table 5-1).

Forts also may provide assistance in determining a film's temporal setting. In the case of *Comanche Station*, when Jefferson Cody (Randolph Scott) utters Fort McKavett (Texas), this

information is temporally useful. The fort is brought up by Cody, the protagonist, as he reminisces with antagonist Ben Lane (Claude Akins) about their time together in the Army. Cody points out that McKavett's command was wiped out, and since the fort existed until 1883, the 1880s is a plausible decade for the temporal setting.

More Subtle Spatial Setting Clues

As the previous sections attest, the Western may be explicit in revealing its settings, but it also subtly divulges setting clues in a large number of unique ways if the viewer is attentive. Indian reservations, for example, are not as common as forts: only San Carlos is used in two films.

Rivers also help map spatial settings. *The Searchers* spatial setting is evident on the strength of two Brazos references. The most famous river in the Western, in terms of the one that receives the most mentions, is the Pecos with six. Oddly, the river is never portrayed on film, but its presence in multiple narratives contributes to our image of the Trans-Pecos region as a significant part of the American West, almost as an eastern boundary for Westerns set in Texas, which differs from Nugent (1992).

Modes of transportation in the Western also yield spatial setting insights, the most prevalent of which is the railroad car. Fourteen films contain railroad cars with a spatial clue emblazoned on the side. Most are actual railroads like the Union Pacific of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, but even the fictitious railroads offer some regional clues, like the fake Fort Worth and Chihuahua Railroad in *Man of the West*. The stagecoach is another helpful mode of transportation that clues the audience into the spatial setting. Twenty-nine Westerns contain images or references of stage lines with the most popular being the Overland (eleven) and nearly as many unmarked coaches (ten). The image of a train pulling into a train station is a common

establishing shot in a Western, and linked with the station is usually a town sign to orient the viewer to the setting. Ten Westerns contain train station signs that display the town's name. Regionally specific railroad and stagecoach lines help me narrow down the setting, though clues are also gathered via train delay boards (*Once Upon a Time in the West*), a trolley car (*The Shootist*), and even a cab (*The Misfits*).

Trains rolling into stations give way to civilization, and numerous parts of a town lend clues to a spatial setting. The different buildings proclaiming spatial information include hotels (and hotel registries), newspaper offices, banks, saloons, restaurants, jails, courthouses, community buildings, patriotic halls, and other businesses. Beyond this, films establish settings with town signs, road signs, temperance signs, license plates, shipping crates, money bags, city nicknames, police uniforms, a water tower, song, and the stock of a Winchester rifle (Figure 5-19).

Figure 5-19: Spatial and Temporal Setting Evidence from *Winchester '73*

Narrative Exposition and Historical Guesses – Temporal Setting

Just like with spatial settings, film establishes the temporal settings with narrative exposition. Historical events are the foundation for identifying temporal settings, and dialogue that invokes real events often provides very specific setting information. In *Rio Grande*, Yorke discloses that it has been fifteen years, two months, and seven days since he rode down the Shenandoah, a nod to the Civil War battles that took place in the Virginia Shenandoah Valley in 1864. Since *Rio Grande's* final battle occurs on July 8th, the temporal setting must be 1879.

In other Westerns the temporal clues may refer to specific events yet not help pinpoint a specific date. In *Stagecoach*, for example, there are only two useful temporal clues. One, Geronimo has jumped the reservation. And, two, the Republican national convention is being held in Chicago (Figure 5-20). Both reference real events, but none of them coincided in the same year. Thrice in the 1880s Chicago held the convention (1880, 1884, 1888), but since I do not know if Geronimo escaped in any of those years, I list my setting as the 1880s.

Figure 5-20: Temporal Setting Evidence from *Stagecoach*

Seldom do Westerns reveal the date like in *Bad Day at Black Rock* where the hotel attendant bluntly states

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                    PETE
This is 1945, mister. There's been a
war on.
```

Another explicit instance is *Cat Ballou*, when 'Shouters' Nat King Cole and Stubby Kaye routinely pop up to sing the 'Ballad of Cat Ballou' that details the plight of Jane Fonda's character:

```
                    SHOUTERS
            (singing)
It's a hanging day in Wolf City, Wyoming.
Wolf City, Wyoming. 1894.
```

Revelations of this sort are atypical and I determine many temporal settings by making guesses based upon mere scraps of information. For instance, Budd Boetticher's *Seven Men from Now* has only one useful temporal line in the entire film: that there are approximately fifty Chiricahua left in the whole territory. In the absence of evidence listing where or when the last band of fifty free Chiricahua roamed southeastern Arizona, my best guess is that this film is set in the 1880s. Other films temporally identified with brief evidence in narrative exposition include *Two Mules for Sister Sara,*[46] *The Missouri Breaks,*[47] and *Dead Man.*[48]

Historical People and Events – Temporal Settings

Some Western plots provide temporal clues by referencing or including historical figures, like the tale of Robert Leroy Parker and Harry Longabaugh, more famously known as *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*. Judge Isaac C. Parker's twenty-one year tenure on the U.S. Court

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[46] I argue the climactic battle in *Two Mules for Sister Sara* is based on the Battle of Chihuahua that took place on March 24th, 1866.

[47] *The Missouri Breaks* references the exploits of real-life Pinkerton agent Charlie Siringo.

[48] *Dead Man* shows men shooting bison from a moving train and then Crispin Glover's character discloses that the government said a million were killed last year. The bison slaughter is the primary temporal indicator, and since it began in 1872 and was largely over by 1874 in the southern plains (O'Brien, 2002), through which I argue the aforementioned train travels, I label the film taking place in the early 1870s.

for the District of Western Arkansas is referenced in *True Grit* and *Hang 'em High*. Political figures like Maximilian I (*Vera Cruz*) and William Jennings Bryan (*McCabe and Mrs. Miller*) as well as military figures like Poncho Villa and Victoriano Huerta (*The Wild Bunch*) also establish temporal settings.

Western stories are also structured around historical events. Staging films around or in famous wars and battles is common, including the 1836 Battle of the Alamo (*The Alamo*) through the Mexican-American War (*Jeremiah Johnson*) the Civil War (*How the West Was Won*, *Major Dundee*, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, *Dances with Wolves*), the 1876 Battle of the Little Bighorn (*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, *Little Big Man*) or a portrait of Custer's Last Stand (*The Gunfighter*), the Johnson County War (*Heaven's Gate*), the Spanish-American War (*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*), the Mexican Revolution (*The Wild Bunch*), and World War II (*Giant*). The lifespan of just this group of Westerns stretches well over a century. Other historical events offer a flavor for a film's temporal setting. It could be the noteworthy completion of the transcontinental railroad (*Union Pacific*) or the line finally reaching the small town of Bisbee, Arizona (*The Tall T*), the year California (*Paint Your Wagon*) or Wyoming (*Shane*) was admitted to the Union, or even the abolishment of hydraulic mining (*Pale Rider*).

Tombstones – Temporal Settings

The interplay of life and death is as integral to the Western as any film genre. Death is particularly helpful in this study because sometimes it means the appearance of a funeral, and with funerals come cemeteries and tombstones that often display dates.

Tombstones appear in thirteen Westerns and in eight of them the tombstone supplies the only temporal information in the film. *True Grit* (Figure 5-21) is the story of Mattie Ross, a precocious teenage girl who, along with a grizzled, eye-patch wearing U.S. Marshal (John

Wayne, in his Oscar-winning role), seeks to deliver her father's murderer to justice. It isn't until the end when Mattie visits her father's grave in Yell County, Arkansas that we see the date (1880) her father died.

Figure 5-21: Tombstone Temporal Setting Evidence from *True Grit*

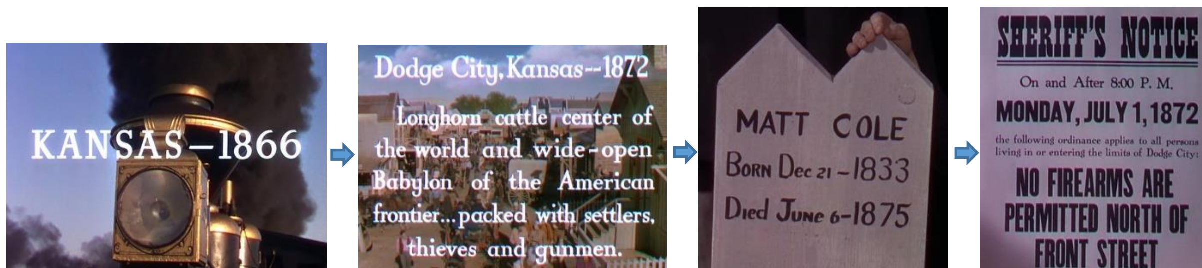
Oddly, not all tombstones are a welcome sight because a couple are downright confusing or just plain wrong. Take *My Darling Clementine*, for example (Figure 5-22). In John Ford's portrayal of the OK Corral gunfight, Wyatt Earp is visiting the grave of his younger brother, James, before the shootout that occurred on October 26, 1881. However, James' tombstone reads 1882. In this case, I argue the temporal setting is more accurately established through the famous and real life gunfight that is portrayed in the film's climax than through this short graveside scene that wasn't even filmed by John Ford[49].

[49] According to Scott Eyman (2004), a John Ford biographer, in his audio commentary on the film, Ford didn't shoot the graveside scene and instead it was completed by another director, Lloyd Bacon.

Figure 5-22: Inaccurate Tombstone from *My Darling Clementine*

A continuity error plagues *Dodge City* as well (Figure 5-23). Narrative titles establish 1866 as the temporal setting in the beginning of the film and shortly after that it shifts to 1872. When the villain kills a local kid's father the resulting funeral scene shows 1875 on his tombstone, but then later a sheriff's notice is posted that returns the setting to 1872. Based on the narrative title and sheriff's notice, I choose 1872 as the temporal setting of *Dodge City*.

Figure 5-23: Temporal Setting Continuity Error in *Dodge City*



United States Flag – Temporal Settings

Calendars are an obvious way to acquire temporal settings, but they are seldom seen throughout the filmography, showing up in only five Westerns. More inconspicuous, yet more prevalent, are the use of American flags. Since each star on Old Glory represents a state in the Union, the number of stars on the flag can indicate how many states had been admitted and therefore provide a temporal window. There are as few as thirteen stars (*Drums Along the*

Mohawk –Figure 5-24) and as many as forty-six (*The Ballad of Cable Hogue*) in the filmography, but the majority of the flags fly thirty-seven or thirty-eight stars, and with good reason because this span stretches from 1867 to 1889, a sizeable chunk of the Western's temporal duration. This means for the thirty-seven star flags in *Fort Apache* and *High Noon* that the film takes place between when Nebraska was admitted in 1867 and when Colorado joined in 1876. Likewise, the thirty-eight stars flying in *Duel in the Sun* (Figure 5-25) and *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* means they take place after Colorado's admission but before the Dakotas gained statehood in 1889.

Figure 5-24: Thirteen (13) stars on the U.S. flag in *Drums Along the Mohawk*

Figure 5-25: Thirty-eight (38) stars on the U.S. flag in *Duel in the Sun*

Banners – Temporal Settings

Akin to narrative titles, but more subtle, are banners that appear onscreen, often inconspicuously strung up high somewhere in the background. Some banners inform the viewer of local or current events with accompanying dates like the competition in *The Far Country* to identify the "fastest ship to the Dawson gold strike" (that began on May 7th, 1896).

Other banners simply reference historical events, like the 'Remember the Maine' banner in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* that leads the outlaws to divulge their real names to each other and later Butch proposes signing up to fight the Spanish as the duo desperately tries to evade the Super Posse. No matter their purpose or how they are used, banners are visual exposition. They help fill in the temporal (and even spatial) gaps for the viewer without having to use dialogue. In the case of *Sundance*, I use the small discussion of the Spanish-American War to cement the '1898' temporal setting despite the historical fact that the Hole-in-the-Wall gang did indeed rob the Union Pacific flyer in 1899 and 1900, and was pursued by the Super Posse after that (Hughes, 2008). So this film is somewhat contradictory, because I value one historical event (the sinking of the Maine in February 1898) over another (the gang's actual larceny history). My reasoning is that I feel more members of the audience would have knowledge of when the Spanish-American War occurred than would be aware of the timeline of Butch and Sundance's actual outlaw exploits.

Time Math – Temporal Settings

Temporal mathematics, or 'time math,' involves using exposition in combination with history to calculate the temporal setting of a Western. In addition to the previously discussed *Rio Grande,* I used it for three films. It only requires simple arithmetic, but a viewer could easily miss that *No Country for Old Men* is set in 1980 if one didn't do the math following this

exchange between the heinous villain, Anton Chigurh (Javier Bardem, in his frightening, Oscar-winning role), and a terrified Gas Station Proprietor (Gene Jones):

```
                    ANTON CHIGURH
You know what date is on this coin?

                    GAS STATION PROPRIETOR
No.

                    ANTON CHIGURH
1958. It's been traveling 22 years just to
get here.
```

Little Big Man begins in what appears to be the present day (1970, based on the presence of an audio recorder) with the interview of protagonist Jack Crabb, who claims "111 years ago I was 10 years old." The film then harkens back to Jack as a ten-year old and follows him through his peculiar life until the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Mathematically, 1970 minus 111 years ago provides the starting date of 1859, and with General George Armstrong Custer's demise in 1876 we know the film transpires between 1859 and 1876.

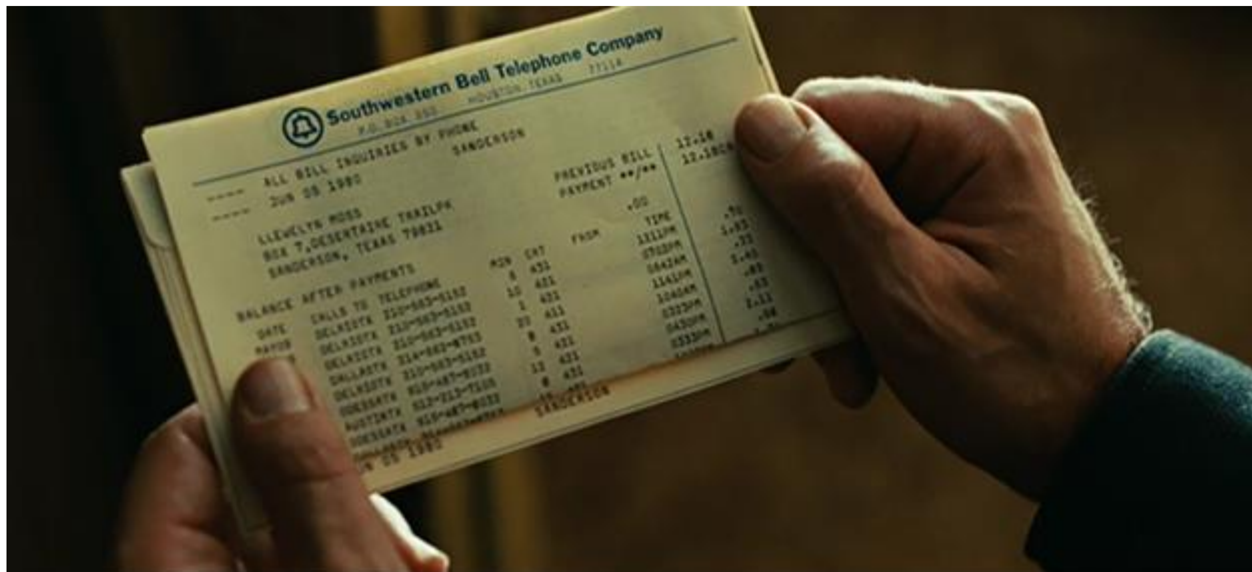
More Subtle Temporal Setting Clues

Temporal settings mirror spatial settings in that they are also conveyed in numerous and creative ways. From personal correspondence like letters (*Jesse James*) and postcards (*Brokeback Mountain*) to the dissemination of public information on lottery boards (*Treasure of the Sierra Madre*), in newspapers (*For a Few Dollars More*), and on wanted posters (*The Naked Spur*), dates are almost always shown rather than spoken, and they range from the incredibly vague (railroad construction in *Monte Walsh*) to the exceptionally precise ('November 14, 1951' is written on the classroom blackboard in *The Last Picture Show*).

The Industrial Revolution is a major sign of when the Western takes place. Technological advances often foreshadow that the Old West is dying, whether through bicycles (*Ride the High Country* and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*), automobiles (*The Wild Bunch* and *The*

Shootist), an airplane (*Lonely are the Brave*), machine guns (*The Professionals*), telephones (*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*) telephone bills (*No Country for Old Men* –Figure 5-26), and the stock of a Winchester rifle.

Figure 5-26: Telephone Bill Reveals June, 1980 Setting in *No Country for Old Men*



Filming Locations

Studying filming locations is a different process from spatial and temporal settings in a few ways. First, considerable research exists on filming locations focusing on worldwide travel destinations (Reeves, 2006), cities (Hellmann & Weber-Hof, 2006), famous landscapes (Hellmann & Weber-Hof, 2007), the American Southwest (Murray, 2000), New Mexico (Berg, 2015), Utah (D'Arc, 2010), Arizona (DeBarbieri, 2014), Sedona and northern Arizona (McNeill, 2010), or Monument Valley and Moab, Utah (Stanton, 1994). A surprising amount of location research focuses on the Western (Stier, 2006; Gaberscek & Stier, 2011; Gaberscek & Stier, 2014; Rothel, 1990; Mort, 2006; Schneider, 2011; Schneider, 2013) including the "Lone Pine in the Movies" series. My study builds on the previous publications but in addition to finding the

locations, I identify which locations were likely most prevalent and impactful in influencing audience place images.

The results are in Table 5-1 along with the settings and Figure 5-27 is a map of the filming locations. The numbers on the map represent the respective Western in the filmography and the letters indicate the level of importance for each filming location to the production. The 'p' stands for the primary location where the Western spends the most time and / or involves the most significant action or memorable moment in the story. The 's' stands for the secondary filming location and the 't' for tertiary filming location, both of which are significant enough to warrant attention but each is less substantial than the one before it.

The most filming locations I acknowledge per entry is three, which is sufficient to capture the major locations portrayed on film without getting bogged down in ranking every location. I assume that if the location is visually distinctive or is the site of a major plot point then it is potentially significant in the minds of the audience. And locations do not need to receive ample screen time to be considered significant. For example, in the case of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* the primary filming location is Zion National Park in Utah, the site of Ella's home and much of the Super Posse chase. The secondary filming location, however, is Durango, CO, based mostly on the iconic cliff jump scene where Butch & Sundance leap to the (Animas) river below to evade capture. The jump lasts but a few seconds on screen, yet it is an integral part of the plot and a memorable scene.

Figure 5-27: Western Filmography Filming Locations

Two, the process of identifying filming locations is inherently different from spatial and temporal settings. Unlike where the narrative provides clues as to the spatial or temporal setting,

it obviously does not disclose filming locations (except in the credits) and so the viewer is left to figure it out on his / her own. This proves challenging if, like me, one has little knowledge of landscapes in the American West. To circumvent this issue I educated myself before watching each Western. I would write down the filming locations Stier (2006) or Gaberscek & Stier (2011) identified and then I would look up images of them either online or in one of my other resources. I would look to see if the film locations used matched any previous entries in the filmography so I would have an idea of what images I might observe.

Fortunately, Stier's and Gaberscek's work provides movie location data for Westerns from 1929 until 2010, so I use their listing as the starting point, but it isn't perfect. Of the films that contain backlots and studio sets, I do not know why they name a few (*The Ox-Bow Incident*, *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral*) but not the majority. Also, some of my location data is much more specific, especially the Spaghetti Westerns, while theirs is exhaustive without determining which locations received the most screen time. I question their 'Durango, Mexico' finding for *The Sons of Katie Elder* unless they are referencing the state (and not the city) because my research found Chupaderos, Mexico (which is in the state of Durango). Lastly, two entries in the filmography are missing from the otherwise impressive volume: *Lone Star* and *No Country for Old Men*.

It can be fool's gold to rely solely on one source for filming location information. Thus, if I didn't personally recognize a location, I sought at least one additional outside source to corroborate and confirm Stier's and Gaberscek's results. I consulted data, articles, and notes from the Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com), the American Film Institute Catalog of Feature Films (www.afi.com/members/catalog/) and the Turner Classic Movies archive (www.tcm.com). The latter two sources prove to be exceedingly helpful in pinpointing filming locations for many of the older Westerns in the filmography because they reference periodicals

and publications from the film's era, such as *Variety* or the *Hollywood Reporter*, many of which can be found online or through interlibrary loan. Referring to these sources is also a good way to check the validity of the website to see if its information corroborates, diverges, is more specific to, or vague from the others.

Opening or Closing Credits

Precluding outside resources, the best way to begin examining filming locations is by watching the opening or closing credits, though only forty-two entries in the filmography provide them. In fact, the first Western in the filmography to include any comment of where the production was shot was *The Naked Spur*, film number twenty-two, which it does on the film's final image (Figure 5-28). Today, all movies state the filming locations and there is evidence of this trend in that the last sixteen in the filmography do so. But filmmakers do not always offer up an exhaustive list and may just simply credit one state (Figure 5-29).

Figure 5-28: First Western in the Filmography to Display Filming Location Data

Figure 5-29: Filming Location Data in *No Country for Old Men* Credits

DVD Special Features – Audio Commentaries

Some DVD releases offer special features. Early DVD releases include written 'Production Notes,' like the records from *High Plains Drifter* that confirm the set was built on the shores of Mono Lake in California. Production notes were useful while the Internet was still in its infancy, but today one of the best special features for identifying filming locations is the audio commentary.

Forty-three editions contain commentaries and a few even have two, but not all commentaries are created equal. Some are downright boring and provide nothing educational, others are moderately helpful, and then there are the rare few that stand out for their unique insights and wonderful revelations. The commentaries involving actors are a mixed bag, and unfortunately, outside of James Stewart and Maureen O'Hara none of the golden era actors either lived long enough or opted to record their own remarks. Film historians, film critics, filmmakers, biographers, former cast and crew members, and surviving family members fill their void to offer secondary accounts.

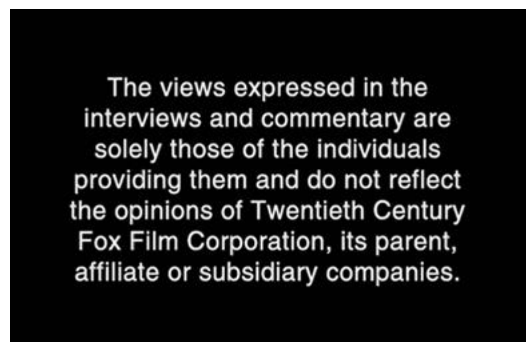
Many of these people voice decent enough insights, but few of them divulge the shooting locations, perhaps because viewers care little to know that Tabernas, which is north of Almería in Spain, is the primary filming location in *For a Few Dollars More*. However, saying that it was filmed in Mini-Hollywood outside of Tabernas or in the "Armpit of Europe" (Hughes, 2006) might be slightly more intriguing, but it is probably not the most appealing of topics to

commentary connoisseurs. Despite that, Christopher Frayling's excellent commentaries on the first two entries in Sergio Leone's "Man with No Name" trilogy are incredibly helpful in verifying previous research.

One commentary actually provides filming location information for a completely different film. During the *Major Dundee* commentary one of the four Leone biographers and documentarians states that Leone's later (and more revered) Western, *The Wild Bunch*, was filmed in two main locations about one hour apart from each other. Since I viewed the filmography in order, when watching *The Wild Bunch* this nugget proved quite valuable because there are indeed two dominant Mexico locations used in the famous production: Parras and Rio Nazas, which are separated by just over eighty miles, as the crow flies.

Recent Blu-ray and DVD releases include disclaimers like the one in Figure 5-30, boilerplate legalese to protect the movie studio or distributor from potential liabilities and litigation.

Figure 5-30: Studio Disclaimer for *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*



What should also be included in these disclaimers is that the views expressed in the commentaries may also be inaccurate. It is easy to assume an historian, critic, filmmaker, biographer, or just about anyone with the clout to record a commentary is a credible source whose contributions are as shrewd as they are accurate. I found out something different while listening to the aforementioned Leone posse discuss *The Ballad of Cable Hogue*. During the

commentary it is surmised that the fictitious town of Dead Dog was shot at Old Tucson Studios. This raised my eyebrow because Old Tucson is not listed as a filming site for *Cable Hogue* in any of the previously mentioned filming location publications. Moreover, since this was the sixty-ninth Western I had watched, I kept thinking that the set of Dead Dog didn't resemble what I had seen of Old Tucson (the building set up was different and the prominent Golden Gate Peak or surrounding landscape was absent), and since its sister site of Mescal wasn't built until the next year for *Monte Walsh* (DeBarbieri, 2014), I knew it had to be filmed at Apacheland, the "poor man's Old Tucson" (Skinner, 2011). The lesson learned here is to take all commentaries with a grain of salt. Other sources substantiate my assertion that Apacheland, the relatively short-lived movie studio, was indeed the filming location for *Cable Hogue* (Bitler, 2008; Skinner, 2011; Gaberscek & Stier, 2014; DeBarbieri, 2014).

DVD Special Features – Featurettes

Checking facts also applies to any featurettes that are a part of a DVD or Blu-ray release. Featurettes are videos created to explain or expand the main film and include documentaries, tributes, reflections, inside looks, and "Making of …" videos that offer great utility, even if only a line or two from the 20-30 minute featurette involves filming locations.

For instance, after watching *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* I knew that Conejo Ranch, Stier's only location entry, was the secondary, not the primary, location. But viewing "The Size of Legends, The Soul of Myth" seven part featurette (Tremaine & Wilson, 2009) shows that the primary set for the film is Paramount's soundstage along with the MGM backlot.

The audio commentary of cast and crew family members for *High Noon* is locationally unhelpful, but two different featurettes confirm that it is shot mostly on the Columbia Studio backlot in Hollywood with the train depot scenes taking place outside Sonora, California at

Warnerville (Frost & Laing, 2015). As a result, these two sites are the primary and secondary filming locations for *High Noon*, which is more specific than Stier's California listing of three different Hollywood studio backlots along with Columbia, Tuolumne City, and Tuolumne County.

Not all DVD editions contained special features, which is unfortunate because it always seemed that the films that needed them the most, did not have them. This is a trend in the filmography, that the Westerns receiving copious amounts of writing from critics (*Stagecoach*, *High Noon*, *The Searchers*, *Unforgiven*) also receive the deluxe special features. This is a problem because if the filming location is difficult to figure out for a less prestigious Western, then to compound the problem there are no special features to consult nor is there likely to exist much previously published writing to verify Stier and Gaberscek's findings or my hypotheses.

DVD Special Features – Locations from Obscure Places

For all of the commentaries and featurettes, some filming location information is packaged in odd ways. First, one would not think a filming location would be divulged during the theatrical trailer to a movie, but James Stewart does this during the trailer to *The Man From Laramie* where he breaks the fourth wall, looks right into the camera and says "We made a picture … out in Santa Fe, New Mexico." This is noteworthy not just because the trailer shows behind the scenes footage instead of the more traditional hype that is heaped on upcoming releases, but also because it is the first Western in the filmography to utilize the Santa Fe location that would become very prevalent toward the end of the twentieth century.

Second, as physical disc movie sales decline and online movie sales surge (Fritz, 2014), the presence of printed production booklets will probably also decline, yet they have value. The booklet from an early DVD release of *Red River* confirms the San Pedro River substitutes for the

border river in the Hawks and Wayne classic. And while a booklet identifies the San Pedro River in Arizona as the proxy for the Red, in one case the booklet itself allowed me to identify the most perplexing filming location in the entire filmography: *Drums Along the Mohawk*. Released during the *annus mirabilis* of 1939, *Drums* is a relatively unknown film because it was Ford's third production that year though Wood (1996a) claims it is Ford's finest. What makes this so difficult are the conflicting accounts of *Drums* being shot in southwest Utah (Stier, 2006; D'Arc 2010; Frankel, 2013) or in the Wasatch Range (Davis, 1995; Carnes, 1996; Vieira, 2013). The DVD release does not have any special features, but the Limited Edition Series Blu-ray contains a commentary and a production booklet with an essay by film historian Julie Kirgo that settles the dispute. Until I got my hands on the Blu-ray, of which only 3,000 were produced, I did not feel secure listing the Wasatch or the Dixie National Forest area as the primary filming location.

Conclusion

This chapter explains how I conduct spatial setting, temporal setting, and filming location research in Western film. Although some of the work (especially with filming locations) has already been published, rarely do the authors take their data and utilize it for other purposes. I identify my spatial settings, temporal settings, and filming locations through multiple viewings of the filmography and conferring with previous research. The next step is to use this data to discuss place images in the Western, and this is the focus of chapter six.

Chapter 6 - Place Images in Western Films

"The Old West is not a certain place in a certain time, it's a state of mind."

– Tom Mix

Mix's quote precedes the American Film Institute's nominations of the best fifty Westerns ever made that the organization then whittled down to the Top 10 (American Film Institute, 2008a). This was the first I had seen of this statement from the early twentieth century actor and I both agree and disagree with it. Undoubtedly, dreams and myths of the West persist today (Roberts, 2008) and they are part of the appeal of the film genre, but this dissertation shows that the cinematic West exists in a certain geographic location and in a certain time. Furthermore, the use of a particular place and time spawns place images, which is the focus of this chapter. It begins with the spatial images of American Indians, the Borderlands, the High Plains, California, and some surprises and themes. Temporal images of the Western's peak, its duration, and its vagueness follow, and then the chapter is capped off with filming location images of the urban, mountain, desert, and plains West.

Spatial Setting Place Images

What happened to California, Colorado, Utah, and the Pacific Northwest? Why are there so many films set in southeastern Arizona? And how did Idaho get shutout completely? These questions ran through my mind in the immediate aftermath of looking at my spatial settings results map (Figure 5-2). After observing the obvious clusters that instantly jump out, it wasn't long before I turned an eye toward what states seemed to be missing. As a native Kansan I began by comparing how the Sunflower State stacked up against other places in the West, and more questions started popping up. Why did Kansas have the same number of spatial settings as California (five)? And how in the wild, wild west did Kansas, which Meinig (1972) excluded

from his conception of the region, have more spatial settings than Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Oregon combined?

Although some states contain relatively few settings, overall the filmography is set across nearly half of the United States (twenty-two states). Table 6-1 offers a quick reference and breakdown of how many films occur in each state (and Mexico & Canada), and it shows that the Western film genre should more aptly be called, in a geographic sense, the 'Southwestern' film genre (Busby, 2003). The top three states contain the spatial settings for over half of the filmography and they all share a border with fourth place Mexico. As a result, many place images hail from the southwestern United States.

Table 6-1: Mapped Spatial Settings by State and Country

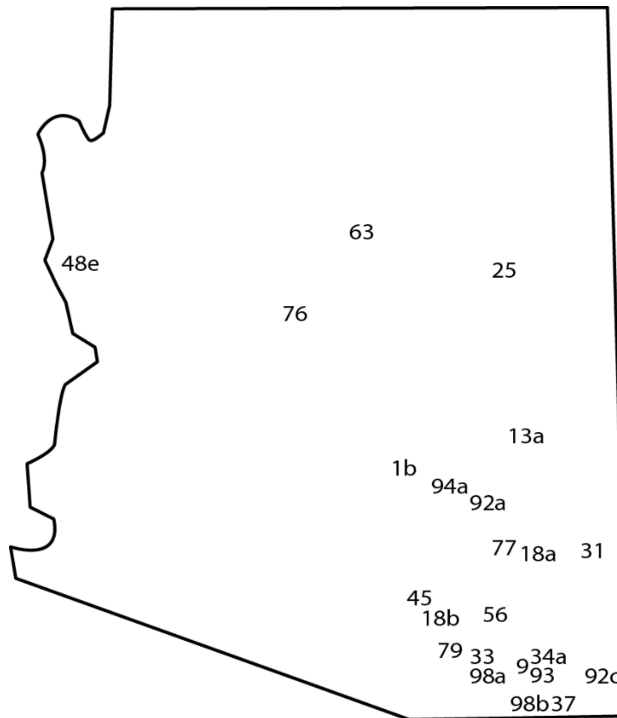
	State/Country	# of Westerns
1	Texas	22
2	Arizona	20
3	New Mexico	14
4	Wyoming	10
5	Montana	7
6	California	5
7	Kansas	5
8	Oklahoma	4
9	Nevada	4
10	South Dakota	4
11	Arkansas	2
12	Missouri	2
13	Nebraska	2
14	New York	2
15	Washington	2
16	Alaska	1
17	Colorado	1
18	Illinois	1
19	Minnesota	1
20	Oregon	1
21	Tennessee	1
22	Utah	1
	Mexico	11
	Canada	1

The following sections address three large patterns of spatial settings in the filmography and the place images those nodes reflect of the cinematic West.

American Indians

A prominent grouping of Southwestern spatial settings is concentrated in southeast Arizona, which resembles a gluttonous mass of numbers and letters. Figure 6-1 contains a larger scale map of the Arizona spatial settings. In all, twenty Westerns, or one-fifth of the entire filmography, are set in the Grand Canyon State, and a profound reason for this relates to the homeland of certain American Indians.

Figure 6-1: Arizona Spatial Settings



Apache

A major reason the Southwest plays such a vital setting in the Western is because it is home to the Apache. Indians are central to the West and always have been. Anderson (2007) says that the easiest thing to do is to close our eyes and imagine a Western. The first two

characteristics he mentions: cowboys and Indians. Much of this image is traced back to this cinematic Indian being an invention of whites (Berkhofer, 1978) that has been continually perpetuated by a primarily white, male Hollywood[50]. As antagonist and also protagonist, Indians are intertwined with the Western. The name alone of the *Cowboys and Indians Magazine* perpetuates this through its continuing circulation (Lincoln, 2012) and the Indian nation who is cinematic chief is the Apache. The Mescalero and especially the Chiricahua appear in or are mentioned in sixteen Westerns that span the entire filmography, from *Stagecoach* to *Appaloosa*.

The connection between the Apache and Arizona is so robust that it speaks to Pocock's (1994) contention that people are place but place is also people. The Apache live in Arizona (and beyond), but in cinema they also are Arizona in that "places may be considered people through their associative quality, by which they come to represent particular persons, actions, or events" (p. 368).

Westerns depicting Apaches advance multiple place images beyond that of Arizona, all of which have been documented before. Past research shows Indians are portrayed through simple stereotypes (Hilger, 1986; Mihesuah, 1996; Jojola, 1998; Kilpatrick, 1999; Agnew, 2012) that were formed during film's silent era, metastasized during the 1930s and 1940s before beginning to be broken down in films released after 1948 (Price, 1973). My findings are similar. Kilpatrick (1999) identifies three categories of stereotypes: mental, sexual, and spiritual, with mental being the most meaningful. I find that Apaches, and all Indians, receive three stereotypical portrayals very similar to those Shapiro (2005) identifies that rarely gain character

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[50] The *2016 Hollywood Diversity Report* (Hunt, Ramón, & Tran, 2016) finds that directors, the primary creative force in film, are 95% male and 87% white. There are similar figures for writers (90% male, 92% white) and lead actors (74% male, 87% white).

complexity (Kilpatrick's 'mental' stereotype) and, most significantly, the filmography shows no trend toward moving beyond these representations.

First, Apache are consistently utilized as an obstruction to white protagonist progress, an image commonly attributed to many Indians. Whether it is the persistent menace of Geronimo overtaking the nine passengers in *Stagecoach* or attacking Fort Stark in *Rio Grande*, the risk of sudden Apache attacks and raids always seems imminent (Figure 6-2), tantamount to what Prats (2002) calls a "portent of terror" (p. 29). This means that any setting in the West is a potentially hostile and competitive environment, which forwards the Wild, Wild West image popularized by William "Buffalo Bill" Cody (Etulain, 1999).

Figure 6-2: Apache (Mescalero) 'Portent of Terror' on the Dunes in *Ride Lonesome*

Second, Apaches are formidable and devastating warriors, capable of cruel acts of barbarism, the most heinous of which appears in *Ulzana's Raid* when Apaches, who have left the San Carlos Reservation, come across a cavalryman escorting a white woman across the prairie. To avoid excruciating torture the cavalryman shoots the woman in the head, then himself before the Apaches maim his body repeatedly with knives, cut out his heart, and toss it around like a hot potato (Figure 6-3). Later on, another woman is raped (Kilpatrick's 'sexual' stereotype) and

while the act is not shown, the physical and psychological damage is unnerving and proves more than the woman can bear.

Figure 6-3: Apache Barbarism in *Ulzana's Raid*

Third, the Apache are explained to be a people who are holding onto the last vestiges of their culture, homeland, and way of life (Kilpatrick's 'spiritual' stereotype). At the conclusion of *Geronimo: An American Legend* as the title character (Wes Studi) is being hauled away by train, he laments surrendering to the U.S. Army (Figure 6-4).

Figure 6-4: Apache Way of Life is Disappearing in *Geronimo: An American Legend*

This film is the only entry in the filmography that adopts a strong Indian protagonist, but even this narrative is still told from a white character's point of view as he sympathetically details the last few years of Geronimo's heroic fight with and evasion from the U.S. Army. One scene in *3:10 to Yuma* explains that the Apache who live in a nearby pass "stayed to fight. They enjoy killing." The final scene of *Hondo* directly references this elegiac tone of Apache life after John Wayne's title character has helped thwart a Mescalero attack.

LIEUTENANT MCKAY
(watching the Apache ride away)
General Crook will be here within a month
with a large force.

BUFFALO BAKER
That'll be the end of the Apache.

HONDO LANE
Yeah. End of a way of life. Too bad, it's a
good way.

All three representations clearly coalesce in the following exposition from *Seven Men From Now* between Ben Stride (Randolph Scott) and a greenhorn cavalry lieutenant.

LIEUTENANT COLLINS
We've been dispatched from Fort Crittenden
to make a wide sweep south in an attempt to
contact any and all Chiricahua in the area.
Reports indicate they may be massing along
the border.

BEN STRIDE
Can't be more than 50 of them left in the
whole territory.

LIEUTENANT COLLINS
According to our scouts, there's well over
one hundred.

BEN STRIDE
That including the squaws, Lieutenant?

LIEUTENANT COLLINS
I take it you don't think the Indians are
dangerous.

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                    BEN STRIDE
          They're worse than that. They're hungry.
          Nothing as deadly as a half-starved
          Chiricahua.
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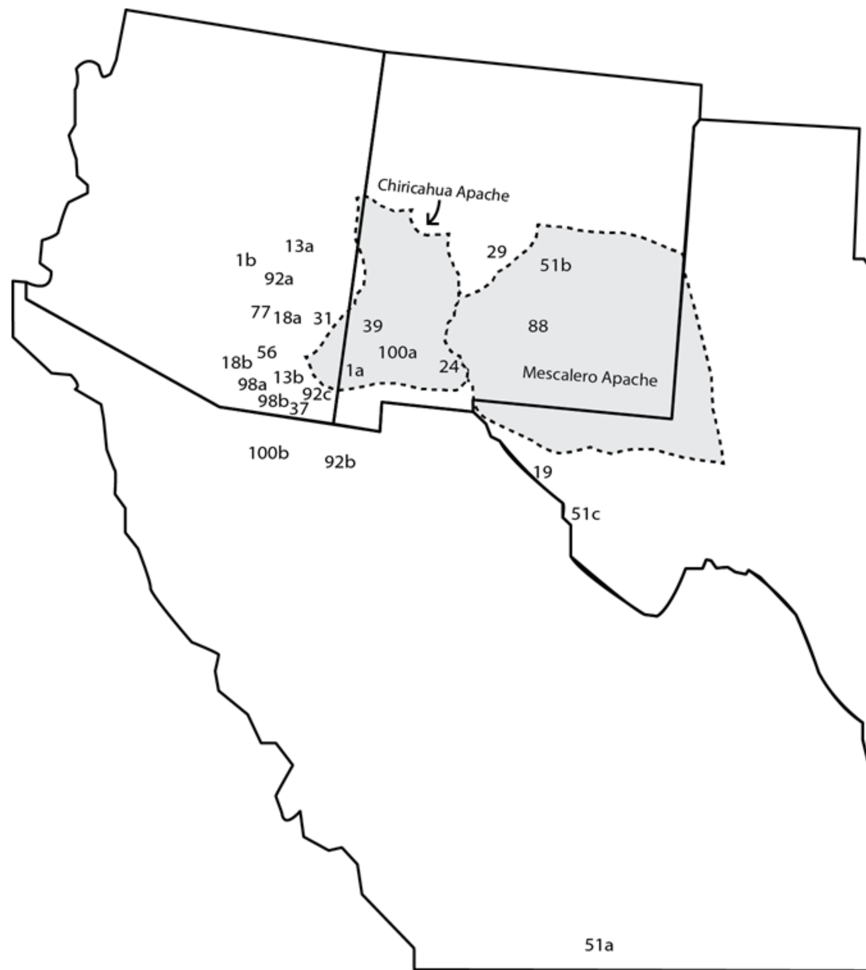
Apaches are feared by all their adversaries but they are also respected by men like Hondo and Stride who apparently understand their plight and appear somewhat sympathetic. The U.S. Army, the white man, and the railroad, all are encroaching into Apachería, and the inevitable confrontation with these forces is the crux of many narrative Westerns.

Famous Apache leaders like Vittorio, Cochise, and, arguably, the most famous, Geronimo, resonate with audiences, so filmmakers include them in Westerns where the name is (typically) used to strike fear in the locals. I argue audiences know these names not through historical education but because they have been conditioned by decades of Westerns to recognize the same names, which then allows filmmakers to save time and not waste exposition establishing what is usually a one dimensional villain (Coleman, 2005). This conditioning means that a name alone triggers past experiences and the immediate formation of a character image in the minds of the audience. Of all the traits an audience discerns about Apache, spatial location is one of them, and according to this research it is strongly concentrated in southeastern Arizona, on the margins of Apachería. Figure 6-5 shows the films with Apache imagery along with the boundaries of the Chiricahua and Mescalero territories.

I believe this process can also work in reverse, that a viewer hearing the name of a place in the West like 'Arizona' triggers an image. In the case of Arizona it might be the saguaro cactus, desert landscapes, or even Geronimo.

Figure 6-5: Apachería (shaded area) and Apache Western Spatial Settings



The cinematic image of the Apache includes only the Chiricahua and Mescalero nations, yet many of the Apache films are set to the west of their homelands. Some Apache narratives are set near the famous Western town of Tombstone (Morris, 2015) and others feature Geronimo's comings and goings from the San Carlos Apache Reservation.

Comanche

Buscombe (2006b) points out that "at the time of the first encounter with whites, there were at least 300 distinct Indian languages in America north of Mexico" (p. 24.). However, he goes on to add that only about half a dozen are represented in film (my research corroborates this). The Comanche are the other integral Indian nation of the cinematic Southwest. Appearing

primarily in Texas-set Westerns, the Comanche are portrayed as violent. For instance, in *The Outlaw Josey Wales* two of Wales' party are taken captive by Ten Bears (Will Sampson) and the Comanche bury them in the Earth up to their necks. (Figure 6-6). The outcome of the cruel behavior is shown, though nothing gruesome is levied on screen.

Figure 6-6: Comanche 'Violence' in *The Outlaw Josey Wales*

Gwynne (2010) writes that regarding the Comanche, "no tribe in the history of the Spanish, French, Mexican, Texan, and American occupations of this land had ever caused so much havoc and death. None was even a close second" (p. 3). Some of the Comanche's supposed deeds were likely deemed by filmmakers to be too brutal for film and television, yet John Ford in *The Searchers* tried to make them as barbaric as the stringent 1950s production codes would allow (Aleiss, 2005).

A Western's geography partially determines which Indian nation is used in the plot[51]. So, if the Apache are synonymous with Arizona then the Comanche are aligned with Texas. But since more Westerns are set in Texas (22) than Arizona (20), why aren't the Comanche the cinematic equal of the Apache? In direct contrast to the Apache, the Comanche are mostly mentioned rather than visually portrayed on the screen. A key Comanche image is that they

[51] In Michael Blake's novel, *Dances with Wolves*, protagonist John Dunbar befriends the Comanche on the Southern Plains. The filmmakers shifted from the Comanche to the Sioux to take advantage of filming the buffalo hunt on the largest bison reserve in North America, located in South Dakota (Stokes, 2013).

continue to linger in the minds of citizens years after having been forcibly removed. The Comanche no longer occupy the spatial settings in *Giant*, *The Big Country*, and *El Dorado*, but references to them in these films speak to their legacy and impact on the white characters who replaced them across Texas (Figure 6-7).

Figure 6-7: Memory and Mention of the Comanche in *The Big Country*

Other reasons why fewer Comanche Westerns exist in the filmography include that audiences may be unfamiliar with famous Comanche leaders. Also, the Comanche homeland is on the Llano Estacado, a "stakeless plain" that possesses a subtle beauty (Caswell, 2011). But for filmmakers this is a far cry from the more pleasing vertical vistas of the mountainous West.

The absence of other major American Indian tribes is peculiar given the documented Kiowa (Schnell, 2001) and Navajo (Jett, 2001) homelands. And even though John Ford employed Navajo in his Monument Valley Westerns (Agnew, 2012), since none of his Westerns were set where they were filmed, the Navajo never get to portray themselves on screen.

Borderlands and Mexico

Though there is little overlap with the Tejano homeland of South Texas (Arreola, 2001), another strong grouping of spatial settings rim the northern side of the Rio Grande that separates Texas from Mexico. This should not be a major revelation considering that Hollywood's fascination with this border goes back to the advent of film and really hit its peak in the 1950s (Fuller, 2015), but historically the border area has been represented as a demarcated boundary

where filmmakers can thematically differentiate good from bad or right from wrong (Dell'agnese, 2005). This theme is evident in the preponderance of Westerns set on the U.S. side of the border. In fact, only six spatial settings are significant enough to be mapped on the south side, though often Westerns make brief forays into Mexico. Contemporary Hollywood is beginning to show more complex cultural portrayals of the border (Dell'agnese, 2005), like John Sayles' portrayal of *Lone Star* as an authentic place (Arreola, 2005) and 'la frontera,' a culturally and morally complex place (Sultze, 2005). But spatially speaking the border is still a strongly delineated area. I argue that Westerns offer four place images for the Borderlands and Mexico, as a place of simplistic stereotypes, economic opportunity, refuge and renewal, and extreme danger.

Place of Simplistic Stereotypes

The Borderlands and Mexico are racially diverse areas (Arreola, 1993) but in Westerns the tricultural zone (Arreola, 2010) is simplified down to white Americans and all 'others.' The Americans are usually portrayed by white characters (typically the protagonists) and the 'others' represent all other races that are primarily American Indians, blacks, and Latinos who are usually portrayed as antagonists, supporting characters, or who are fleetingly seen on the fringe of the screen to offer viewers a spatial setting 'flavor.' For example, someone wearing a sombrero and poncho (Figure 6-8) conjures the image that the setting is in Mexico or the Borderlands vicinity.

Figure 6-8: Spatial Setting 'Flavoring' via Costume in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*

With the main exception of *Giant*, which addresses miscegenation, albeit in West Texas and not the borderlands (Baxter, 2005), racial and gender inequality stereotypes persist throughout the filmography. The West is seen from a white, male point of view in 94 of the 100 Westerns[52] with women and non-white characters reduced to the background and to stereotypical roles that do not offer the character versatility of their white male counterparts (Seger, 1996). White women typically receive two roles in Westerns, as madonnas or whores (White, 1991), and Berg (2002) identifies six similar Latino stereotypes[53], only three of which are prevalent in the filmography: El Bandito, the Harlot, and the Dark Lady.

Perhaps the most famous example of El Bandito involves the character called Gold Hat[54] (Alfonso Bedoya) from *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (Figure 6-9). Outfitting a character with a sombrero, a bandolier, violent or devious tendencies, and a heavy Spanish accent is "Hollywood's way of signaling his feeble intellect, a lack of brainpower that makes it impossible for him to plan or strategize successfully" (Berg, 2002, p. 68). Gold Hat proves more cunning than the average bandit, but Hollywood routinely utilizes Mexican bandits when they need an antagonist in Mexico-set Westerns. Moreover, Hollywood's usage of the sombrero and poncho stereotype extends beyond the bandit to include the Mexican civilian as well as the freedom fighter (add a weapon), and all of this links viewers to Mexico, or at least the southwestern U.S.

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[52] Women have protagonist roles in *Duel in the Sun*, *Johnny Guitar*, *How the West Was Won*, *Cheyenne Autumn*, and *Cat Ballou*. The Cheyenne are protagonists in *Cheyenne Autumn*, and in *Geronimo: An American Legend* the famous Apache leader is the central character.

[53] Berg's (2002) six Latino stereotypes include: El Bandito, the Harlot, the Male Buffoon, the Female Clown, the Latin Lover, and the Dark Lady.

[54] Gold Hat spouts one of the most famous, though misquoted (Crouse, 2005), Western phrases of all time: "We don't need no stinking badges." Gold Hat's actual line is "Badges? We ain't got no badges. We don't need no badges. I don't have to show you any stinking badges."

(Lant, 2013). As a result, the sombrero is so prevalent that it is the strongest visual spatial setting clue in the Western for this region.

Figure 6-9: El Bandito Example – Gold Hat from *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*

The Harlot is also a familiar stereotype. Applied to Latino women who exude sex appeal and a fiery temper, Harlots include secondary characters like overtly erotic Chihuahua (Linda Darnell) from *My Darling Clementine* or the wrongfully kidnapped Maria (Claudia Cardinale) in *The Professionals*. However, the Harlot is also a template for lead characters, such as Jennifer Jones' Oscar-nominated role as the hysteria-centered Pearl Chavez from *Duel in the Sun* (Wood, 1996b).

I did not expect the most common stereotype of Berg's in the filmography to be the Dark Lady. The female equivalent of the Latin Lover, this comparatively reserved, circumspect, and aloof character is quiet, but her "cool distance" as well as "virginal, inscrutable, and aristocratic ways" are attractive to the hero (Berg, 2002, p. 76). I argue seven films contain characters more closely associated with the Dark Lady than the Harlot. Jill (Claudia Cardinale, again) in *Once Upon a Time in the West* may not be virginal, but her character embodies the inner strength of a Dark Lady. Marisol (Marianne Koch) in *Fistful of Dollars* quietly suffers her separation from her

lover and son, and a much more passionate character than Teresa (Senta Berger) in *Major Dundee* would have accosted the title character after his romantic indiscretion.

Berg's Male Buffoon stereotype springs from the American stereotype that Latino immigrants are uneducated (K. Johnson, 2007) and incompetent (Sevillano & Fiske, 2013). In Westerns, if Latinos are not cast as El Bandito then in the Male Buffoon vein they are perceived as children, incapable of saving or doing for themselves and thus requiring the assistance of white protagonists. Mexican civilians always appear to be facing an unpleasant status quo but they can't seem to change their fortunes until white characters join the cause. A bullied village hirers "The Magnificent Seven" to stand up to El Bandito Calvera (Eli Wallach). Hogan's knowledge of dynamite, namely where to buy it (Texas) and how to deploy it in combat, swings the balance against the French fort in Chihuahua in *Two Mules for Sister Sara*.

Figure 6-10 is a screenshot of Major Dundee who sits victoriously atop a rock wall after allegedly liberating a small village. Scrawled on the wall are the words "Viva Dundee," which praises him for doing something the townsfolk apparently could not: gaining freedom from persecution and oppression.

Figure 6-10: Major Dundee after Liberating a Village in *Major Dundee*

Dundee's deed nearly elevates him to mythic status among the villagers which is not surprising since despite Mexico's declining Catholic population (Marin, 2011), the country is strongly tied to the religion in film as is the Borderlands (Shortridge, 1976). This relationship appears frequently in the filmography and is a key place image to inform the audience the narrative is Mexico-set. The establishing, or master shot, to open *Vera Cruz* (Figure 6-11) shows typical Western elements (two figures on horseback plus a mountainous background) along with a cathedral, signaling the narrative could be south of the border.

Figure 6-11: Establishing Shot of a Cathedral in *Vera Cruz*

In other films, cathedrals or missions are used to indicate a more civilized area, such as the bell tower and church in *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and *The Magnificent Seven* (Figure 6-12).

Figure 6-12: Church View as Calvera's Gang Enters the Village in *The Magnificent Seven*

Religious iconography, images, and visual symbols that represent something else (Solomon, 1976), allow filmmakers to align characters with meaningful landscapes to evoke numerous images. The hero shot is made when the camera is placed low and looks up at the character (Grossman, 2008). Framing characters in the foreground with landscapes or buildings in the background is a common photographic practice, and pairing characters and cathedrals can signify a virtuous character (Figure 6-13) or present an evil dichotomy (Figure 6-14), all of which impress upon the viewer the presence of religion in the spatial setting.

Figure 6-13: Virtuous Hero Shot in *Vera Cruz*

Figure 6-14: Villainous Dichotomy in *Fistful of Dollars*

In addition to cathedrals, another religious image that points to a Mexico setting is the shrine (Figure 6-15). Though not as visually imposing as a cathedral, roadside shrines serve as a setting reminder, especially in rural locations (Figure 6-16), that the plot is in or near Mexico.

Figure 6-15: Shrine in *Major Dundee*

Figure 6-16: Roadside Shrines in *Vera Cruz* and *Two Mules for Sister Sara*

Place of Economic Opportunity

Though McMaken (2012) argues Westerns promote communism and not capitalism, Dell'agnese (2005) describes the border as an economic region. Take the two Joe's, for example. One Joe (Clint Eastwood) plays two families against each other in *Fistful of Dollars* and the other Joe (Burt Lancaster), along with Ben (Gary Cooper), aids the rebel cause against Emperor Maximilian in *Vera Cruz*. The Mexican fight for independence provides cinema with the perfect stage for conflict, but also the opportunity for American characters to prosper greatly as guns for

hire (like Hogan [Clint Eastwood again] in *Two Mules for Sister Sara*). The end result reaffirms the 'American way' (Bregent-Heald, 2015) but also portrays Mexico and the Borderlands as a profitable destination for Americans. The three types of characters who benefit the most financially are miners, thieves, and bounty hunters.

Mining is not relegated to the Rocky Mountains or Sierra Nevada in the cinematic West. Instead, it is frequently portrayed as the financial raison d'etre of small, makeshift communities along the Borderlands and into Mexico. Silver, not gold, is the primary ore mined in the region. This is in direct contrast to the three Sierra Nevada-set Westerns where gold is the ultimate objective[55]. Nine films[56] in the region contain references to mining. This variety diversifies the image of the West as more than just a gold bonanza, but at the same time Western narratives focus on the 'boom' and skip the 'bust' part of the mining industry that was so prevalent in the West (Wyckoff & Dilsaver, 1995a).

Larceny runs rampant in the cinematic Borderlands and Mexico. The number of bank robberies is relatively small (only two: in *One-Eyed Jacks* and *For a Few Dollars More*) but when surrounded by many timid characters, it is not surprising that outlaws like Calvera's gang in *The Magnificent Seven* naturally run roughshod over the milquetoast masses, taking whatever they desire. Anyone who dares trod through this region must be ready for action when they meet others, as Fardan (Lee Marvin), Dolworth (Burt Lancaster) and the rest of "The Professionals" demonstrate when confronted by a handful of gold-teethed bandits. The Professionals traipse

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[55] The three Sierra Nevada gold Westerns are *Ride the High Country*, *Paint Your Wagon*, and *Pale Rider*. *Bend of the River* contains references to gold mining in the vicinity of Mount Hood, but the protagonists are not preoccupied with prospecting.

[56] The nine Borderlands and Mexico region films with mining plot points include: *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (gold), *The Tall T* (copper), *Man of the West* (unknown), *Warlock* (silver), *The Magnificent Seven* (gold), *El Dorado* (silver), *High Plains Drifter* (unknown), *Tombstone* (silver), and *Appaloosa* (copper).

through dangerous canyons because they are bounty hunters, men in search of a reward using skills capable of out-smarting and out-shooting any opposition. Their target is the American Mr. Grant's (Ralph Bellamy) wife, Maria, who has been kidnapped and taken into the Chihuahuan Desert in Mexico. Finding her and delivering her back to Mr. Grant will net each man $10,000.

Clint Eastwood's 'Man with No Name' trilogy characters are also bounty hunters and they do actually have names. Joe reaps the profits from using his talents to pit two rival border families against each other in *Fistful of Dollars*. Monco, with assistance from Colonel Mortimer (Lee Van Cleef), collects $27,000 worth of bounties for rounding up El Indio (Gian Maria Volontè) and his gang in *For a Few Dollars More*. And in *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* Blondie runs a bounty scam where he turns in his wanted partner, Tuco (Eli Wallach), to the authorities and when they try to hang the criminal, Blondie shoots the rope and the two of them ride off to hornswoggle another town. Joe in *Fistful of Dollars* sums up the place image with this remark.

```
                    JOE
Crazy bell ringer was right. There's money
to be made in a place like this.
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Place of Refuge and Renewal

In addition to reinforcing stereotypes and a place to make money, Mexico offers something the U.S. cannot: a place of refuge for outlaws but also a place of renewal where some desire an exotic adventure to an idealized 'Mexicoland' (Arreola & Curtis, 1993), like that which Sonny (Timothy Bottoms) and Duane (Jeff Bridges) embark upon in *The Last Picture Show*[57]. A

[57] *The Last Picture Show* is set in the fictitious town of Anarene near Wichita Falls, Texas. After mapping the spatial setting, upon subsequent viewings I realized that the majority of Sonny and Duane's weekend excursion to Mexico and back was probably spent driving. As the crow flies, the closest border is still over 300 miles away. This speaks quite strongly to the idea that Mexico is an exotic location and adventure waiting to happen in a way that other, geographically closer locations like Dallas, allegedly do not provide.

fundamental Western dichotomy involves civilization versus wilderness (Grosoli, 2016), and that struggle plays out in space as law and order chases, hounds, and seeks the unlawful through picturesque locations that have yet to bend to civilization's influence. To spurn the march of progress, rebels will travel where the authorities cannot follow, and in the Western that is across national boundaries, especially the easily visualized Rio Grande.

Apaches use the border to their advantage in *Rio Grande*, *Major Dundee*, and *Geronimo: An American Legend* because the U.S. Army has no jurisdiction in Mexico and, therefore, cannot legally cross the border, except that they do in all three films.[58] In *No Country for Old Men*, Llewelyn Moss (Josh Brolin) limps into Mexico after being shot by Chigurh, where he receives hospital care to treat his wounds and a much needed respite from the incessant tracking of the sadistic Chigurh.

Noble (2005) notes that Mexico "is a final destination, offering refuge from the law" (p. 124), but in the filmography Mexico is usually a momentary stop before characters make some return to the United States. In fact, Mexico as a final destination happens only once: at the conclusion of *Stagecoach* when Ringo (John Wayne) and Dallas (Claire Trevor) ride off on a buckboard for Ringo's ranch in Mexico as Doc Boone famously declares to Marshal Curley Wilcox (George Bancroft):

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                    DOC BOONE
           (as Ringo and Dallas ride off)
Well, they're saved from the blessings of
civilization.
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[58] Flouting orders and pursuing enemy forces into Mexico is interesting because in the civilization versus wilderness conflict, the U.S. Army throws off the chains of civilization and supposedly becomes like their opposition while forwarding a message that breaking rules is essential to achieving success in the West.

Mexico is their refuge from a society that brands outlaws and prostitutes as outsiders but it is also their chance at renewal (Fuller, 2015), another Borderlands and Mexico image. Billy the Kid's gang in *Young Guns* escapes to Mexico to flee the authorities, but it ends up including rest, relaxation, and a wedding ceremony, far more than just a hideout. Sonny and Duane's aforementioned pleasure trip to Mexico in *The Last Picture Show* is intended as a renewal and an escape but appears to end in a remorseful hangover.

Place of Extreme Danger

The other end of the spectrum from refuge and renewal is extreme danger (Toohey, 2012), and this is far and away the most frequently conveyed place image of the Borderlands and Mexico – that it is a hazardous location, especially to outsiders, akin to a landscape of fear (Tuan, 1979a). Nichols (2001) sums it up rather well when he writes "Border towns are like this: danger and intrigue surround us at every step, the night is full of mystery, people live in jeopardy of wandering across lines they ought not cross, one's identity and self are put at risk" (p. 204). The image of an unsafe border is persistent (Arreola & Curtis, 1993) and goes all the way back to the early twentieth century (Brégent-Heald, 2015) and has evolved into an ongoing fear about borders and border crossings (Mains, 2004). This belief persists, along with the claim that it can't be changed (Thompson, 2015) despite some border towns not being as dangerous as some Americans believe (Matalon, 2015).

It is no surprise that Westerns portray the region as dangerous given the previously mentioned stereotypes and the clearly demarcated boundary that restricts mobility. The most scathing cinematic indictment of the borderlands as a dangerous place comes from Orson Welles' film-noir thriller, *Touch of Evil* (1958) where police corruption runs rampant in a small border town (Arreola, 2005). This ties into a couple stereotypes, that Mexico is "a lawless place

overrun by bandits, while Mexicans appear as duplicitous, cowardly, and violent" (Serna, 2014, p. 133).

It is relatively easy for Americans to ride south of the border, but similar to a 'hardening' of the border (Arreola, 2010), it is difficult and dangerous for someone on the south side to travel north of the border (Dell'agnese, 2005). For example, a U.S. Army garrison finds French soldiers blocking their return, resulting in a Rio Grande battle scene as the climax of *Major Dundee*. In *No Country for Old Men* a gunshot, ID-less Llewelyn Moss is in danger of being arrested for trying to re-enter the U.S. without documentation until he plays the Vietnam veteran pathos card to a sympathetic border patrol officer.

One of the biggest differences between Westerns in the United States and those in Mexico is the sense, the feeling, that there are no honest people in Mexico, that there exists no honest lawmen that will stand up to injustice and no cavalry will ride over the hill and come to a character's defense. In Mexico it feels like all people seek to defeat the protagonist and it is only through the enduring western image of self-reliance (Shortridge, 1991) that a person can survive in such a harsh environment.

Examples of the image abound and are present in all Mexico-set Westerns, from the famous slow-motion machine gun shootout in *The Wild Bunch* to when Cole (Ed Harris) and Hitch (Viggo Mortensen) faceoff against Bragg (Jeremy Irons) and the Shelton brothers in *Appaloosa*. An early forerunner of this image is *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, which preceded *Touch of Evil* by a decade. The John Huston Oscar-winner is the first Western in the filmography set primarily in Mexico and its portrayal of rural Mexican citizens aligns with Serna's description and helped set the tone for future films. Fred C. Dobbs (Humphrey Bogart) has a serious case of gold fever and an equally strong penchant for distrusting everyone he

encounters, up to and eventually including his own partners. Dobbs' paranoia makes for a fascinating character study but it leads audiences to naturally question the moral character of rural Mexicans.

Contemporary urban perceptions show places like Mexico City to be dangerous as well (D'Lugo, 2003), though the visit to Chapultepec Castle in *Vera Cruz* proves harmless. In fact, violence and danger are so entrenched in the Mexico setting that when the country is portrayed as a safe place, it is noteworthy. In *Lonely are the Brave* Jack Burns (Kirk Douglas) escapes from a prison in Duke City (Albuquerque) and ascends the Sandia Mountains. His objective while evading the authorities is to make his way south to the Manzano Mountains that will lead him "straight to Mexico on a carpet of pine needles." After reaching the border Burns intends to make for a place he knows in Sinaloa that is "just aching to hide" him. In this film Mexico is that final destination that Noble (2005) discusses, a safe haven from the law where Burns can escape any perceived injustice he has faced. The film ultimately goes a different route, but like *Stagecoach*, it is a time when the protagonist views Mexico as a safe place.

High Plains

The third and most surprising spatial cluster exists on the High Plains. Concentrated in Wyoming and extending up into Montana as well as the Black Hills, this area, contained within the Great Plains, is the "first leg of the journey west" (Kasdan & Tavernetti, 1998, p. 121) and part of 'flyover country' (Shortridge, 1997; de Wit, 2007). It is an understudied region (Wolfson, 2014) but in Western cinema this cluster is more than the meeting point of two distinct landscapes: plains and mountains. These settings are the flashpoint for some of the most vital Western characters that comprise the backbone of the genre: Plains Indians, cowboys and plainsmen, and ranchers versus homesteaders.

Plains Indians

American Indians are also key players in this region, this time headlined by the Plains Indians with the Sioux and Cheyenne in leading roles across eleven films (five for the Cheyenne and six for the Sioux). The Cheyenne are strongly featured in the first half of the filmography and the Sioux emerge more in the latter half. The Cheyenne are portrayed beyond the boundaries of their native homelands in two films: on the Southern Plains in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (15) and on their perilous five state journey from Indian Territory in Oklahoma (48a) to Lame Deer, Montana (48e) in *Cheyenne Autumn*.

The Sioux receive mention in six Westerns but are only given serious treatment in two: *Dances with Wolves* and *A Man Called Horse*, a film that "gets nearer to the heart of Indian culture than most" (Haining, 1997, p. 214). In the other four, they are briefly mentioned as being in the vicinity (*The Cowboys*), they await General Custer at the Little Big Horn in *Little Big Man*, and are relegated to a positive, but peripheral, part in *Cat Ballou* (Turner, 1996) and crass comedy in *Blazing Saddles*, a parody of racism so irreverent that Brooks has said there is no chance the film could be made today (Faulx, 2014).

I expected a greater Sioux presence in the filmography than just two serious depictions, in part because of Gibbon's (2008) contention that "the most common image of American Indians throughout the world is that of the bison hunting Sioux" (p. 1). Bison (nine films) show up only slightly more often than the Sioux, but neither are prevalent and if Gibbon's argument is accurate, then the filmography's lack of Sioux narratives is baffling.

One explanation for the lack of Sioux Westerns is the dialectic between myth and history. The Western is rife with narratives pitting Indians against the U.S. Army, but many of the actual encounters between the Army and the Plains Indians are more akin to massacres than battles.

Sand Creek (1864), Washita (1868), and Wounded Knee (1890) are famous engagements that look more like slaughters of women and children than relatively even matched fights between warriors (Slatta, 2001; Marker, 2003; Wishart, 2007). These lopsided conflicts do not forward Manifest Destiny or the myth of the West, so a primarily White Hollywood avoids the black eye in American history by steering clear of serious depictions of Plains Indians and U.S. Army clashes, at least from the Army's point of view. This partially explains the fascination with Apache Westerns. The Apache proved their grit and status as a worthwhile cinematic adversary through many years spent evading the Army. Moreover, any Army massacres of Apaches are not as well-known as those on the Plains.

A second, more geographically inclined, reason for the lack of Sioux entries in the filmography is the fluid nature of the Plains Indian homelands, at least in comparison to those of the Apache. The Great Plains allow for greater movement due to the lack of landscape obstacles like the Rocky Mountains. And when the Plains Indians acquired the horse well after its first appearance on the plains with Coronado's expedition and horses became "an essential fact of life" (West, 1998, p. 50), the Indians became even more mobile in their hunt for bison. From the 1820s to the 1850s a sizeable number of American Indians emigrated to the central plains, like the Cheyenne who traveled from North Dakota south to the Platte River area (West, 1995). This vast shuffling and constant fluctuation of Plains Indian homelands could, therefore, be a contributing reason why the Sioux do not figure prominently in the spatial settings.

Cowboys

American Indian stories alone do not fuel Hollywood's interest in the High Plains. It is also home of the quintessential Western character: the cowboy.[59] As Worster (1992) points out, almost anyone will say that "the American West is about the cowboy and his life of chasing cows on the range" (p. 34). But tending to cattle in one location is not as visually dramatic as herding them through massive expanses and changing vistas. As such, *Red River* and *The Cowboys* demonstrate how geographically essential cattle drives are to the Western[60]. Both films star John Wayne as the quintessential and archetypal cinematic cowboy[61] (Etulain, 1981) who herds both cattle and kids through the plains fighting against the elements, hostile Indians, and cattle thieves in an attempt to reach his destination along the Chisholm Trail to Abilene and across Montana to Belle Fourche. Cowboys have been characters of the Plains going back to the first Texans (Wilson, 2004), though the cowboy image is most dominant west of the 100th meridian (Shortridge, 2007). Across Cow Country, a "seemingly endless empire of grass stretching northward from Texas to the Canadian line" (Athearn, 1986, p. 24), the cowboy rides as the romantic hero and also the antihero (Karoui-Elounelli, 2013), a uniquely American creation who seemingly pioneered the West when in reality his role was quite small (Agnew,

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[59] Draper (2007) states that Hollywood has hyped the cowboy as the terse, masculine individual, but 'cowboy' is an umbrella term that describes all cattlemen when they are also known by regional names. 'Cowboy' is most common on the Great Plains, 'Cowpuncher' across the American Southwest, 'Vaquero' in Mexico, and 'Buckaroo' rides the Great Basin and the Northwest.

[60] After the resurgence of Westerns in the wake of *Dances with Wolves* and *Unforgiven*, the Billy Crystal comedy *City Slickers* revisits the cattle drive and shows its present-day importance and utility for urbanites experiencing mid-life crises.

[61] Proof of Wayne's status as the quintessential and archetypal cowboy in Western cinema exists in his perpetual popularity (in the past two decades he has never dropped out of the top 10 of America's Favorite Movie Star poll [Shannon-Missal, 2016]) and in the fact that he had his own comic book (Savage, 1979) that once was so popular that it sold a million copies a month (Eyman, 2014).

2012). Film prefers the mythic cowboy representation and he can be broken down into two main images: romantic do-gooders and vagabond gunfighters.

As romanticized figures, cowboys are easily identifiable because they live by most elements described in Gene Autry's Cowboy Code[62]. J. B. Books (Wayne, is his final, poignant role), a cancer stricken gunfighter in *The Shootist*, discloses to the naïve boy, Gillom (Ron Howard), the cinematic cowboy code by which he and the romanticized cowboys live.

```
                GILLOM ROGERS
How did you ever kill so many men?

                J.B. BOOKS
I lived most of my life in the wild country,
and you set a code of laws to live by.

                GILLOM ROGERS
What laws?

                J.B. BOOKS
I won't be wronged. I won't be insulted. I
won't be laid a hand on. I don't do these
things to other people, and I require the
same from them.
```

Wayne declined roles that portrayed cowboys as antiheroes or as destructive menaces to society (Etulain, 1981); Randolph Scott and Gary Cooper also both adhered to this code and exceled at playing this type of gallant and Quixotic role (Meyers, 1998). In all ten of their entries in the filmography they portray men who strive to do the right thing in all circumstances, which

[62] Cinematic cowboys don't always follow #3, #5, or the last part of #9 from Gene Autry's Cowboy Code:
1. The cowboy must never shoot first, hit a smaller man, or take unfair advantage.
2. He must never go back on his word or a trust confided in him.
3. He must always tell the truth.
4. He must be gentle with children, the elderly, and animals.
5. He must not advocate or possess racially or religiously intolerant ideas.
6. He must help people in distress.
7. He must be a good worker.
8. He must keep himself clean in thought, speech, action, and personal habits.
9. He must respect women, parents, and his nation's laws.
10. A cowboy is a patriot.

imbues the Western and the Plains with a sense that if a cowboy is around, injustice will not go unchecked, a very different image from that of the Borderlands and Mexico.

Cowboys are ubiquitous in the Western because of their mythic versatility. They don't always just punch cattle, and as a result their reach is not limited to the Great Plains, but extends throughout the West. The most common characteristic of cinematic cowboys is that they are gunfighters, a combination first popularized in the Zane Grey corpus (Agnew, 2015). Cowboys used rifles and revolvers for various tasks on the trail but it was the six shooter that gave the character a whole new narrative utility and expanded what we call a cowboy by tapping into his wild nature (M. Johnson, 2007). Any cowboy worth his spurs must be handy with a gun or he won't survive in the West and gunfighters are brash and always ready to draw when trouble arises, as Gil (Henry Fonda) demonstrates in *The Ox-Bow Incident* when a member of the posse tries to convince him to put out his cigarette.

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                JEFF FARNLEY
           (pulls his six-shooter)
Chuck that butt or I'll plug ya.

                GIL CARTER
Start something, for every hole you make
I'll make two.
```

Manns (2001) in *American Cowboy* claims "the image of the two-gun totin' cowboy," like the hero Jake (Kevin Costner) in *Silverado* or the Oscar-nominated villain Wilson (Jack Palance) in *Shane* (Figure 6-17), originated with the Texas Rangers and other lawmen (p. 54). I find it odd that apparently lawmen, as well as outlaws and others, are subsumed under the cowboy image despite the differences between these occupations. It is an image so broadly defined that any character brandishing an 'iron' can be considered a cowboy.

Figure 6-17: Two Gun Totin' Cowboys – Hero Jake (*Silverado*); Villain Wilson (*Shane*)

This allows cowboys to be anywhere in the West, like Books in *The Shootist*, whose story is not set on the plains but in Carson City, Nevada in January, 1901. In *The Gunfighter* Jimmy Ringo (Gregory Peck) seeks to escape his famous gunfighter past by traveling with his true love to places far outside of the Southwest. He suggests destinations like California, the Northwest, or even South America. But gunfighter reputations spread far and wide, as John McCabe (Warren Beatty) finds in *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* when he travels to a zinc mining town in the Northwest and upon introducing himself is asked by Sheehan (Rene Auberjonois), a local, if he is the renowned gunfighter Pudgy McCabe.

Neither Books, Ringo, nor McCabe are cowboys, but the archetype of the cowboy has grown through the medium of film to include the gunfighter and this allows for one of the greatest Western tropes: the vagabond gunfighter. The cowboy is rarely tied down to a region or a location and is typically a vagrant (Agnew, 2012). In fact, in over twenty Westerns the protagonist is shown riding in at the beginning and riding away at the end (Figure 6-18), proof that Zelinsky (1992) was right when he says "the heroic self-image of the lone, self-reliant,

upward-striving individual … is possibly the single most dominant value in the cultural cosmos of the American" (p. 41).

Figure 6-18: Cowboys Ride In (Left) and Ride Out (Right) in *The Ox-Bow Incident*

Being mobile and transient is a vital component of many Western protagonists and not even bringing civilization to the frontier can tie the hero down. Clint Eastwood's characters display the transient nature of the cowboy more than any other. In nine of his ten Westerns in the filmography he rides away at film's end, which is a far more common occurrence than riding in at the beginning. Western heroes almost always move on because the frontier is moving too, the society they help forge isn't enticing enough to stay, or they have no interest in being domesticated. But more than that, for any cowboy, the trail was the West (Poulsen, 1992), and to be a cowboy is to always be mobile because as McHugh (2005) aptly states, "there is no myth more enduring in America than the link between mobility and freedom" (p. 73). Not simply confined to the cowboy, this geographic wanderlust is an important character element for many figures in the Western (and the United States) who want the chance to start fresh (Crang, 1998). Miners, bison-hunting Indians, and even Hell on Wheels railroad camps all embody movement. This is a hero like in the movie *Shane*, where the title character (Alan Ladd), rides into the valley, sides with the oppressed Starrett family, saves the day against the hired gunfighter,

Wilson, and the villainous rancher, Ryker (Emile Meyer), then rides away, no matter how hard Joey (Brandon De Wilde) yells the 47th greatest movie quote in American film history (American Film Institute, 2005):

```
                              JOEY STARRETT
              Shane. Shane. Come back!
```

Cowboys dominate and Plains Indians exist in the filmography, but one of Blake's (2014) mythic West characters, the buffalo hunter or plainsman, is absent. No Western in the filmography romanticizes or depicts the life of Buffalo Bill Cody, and though this character briefly appears in the form of Jethro Stuart (Henry Fonda) who hunts buffalo to feed the Union Pacific railroad as it forges through Arapaho territory in *How the West Was Won*, the plainsman has been superseded by the cowboy in the cinematic West.

Ranchers versus Homesteaders

The aforementioned *Shane* serves as a good example of the third image Westerns portray of the High Plains: it is the setting for the showdown between ranchers and homesteaders (or mythically the moving frontier and civilization). More often than not the ranchers serve as villains who intimidate and badger the homesteaders, who then stand up for themselves or hire someone to do it. Shane comes to the aid of the homesteading Starretts, who band together with other homesteaders to stand up against Ryker, a longtime rancher who feels the squatters are taking 'his' land and its resources without compensating him, though he expresses no qualms about having removed the Cheyenne from the area in earlier years.

This battle is between two factions competing for territory and for what they consider to be the proper usage of space. Seeing as how homesteading and the plow sounded the death knell of the open range, a concept so vital to the Western's frontier myth, I am somewhat surprised that so many Hollywood narratives cast the homesteaders as protagonists and not as the seeds of

evil that ultimately doom the frontier. But maybe I shouldn't be stunned since the West has long been considered a garden (Smith, 1950) and, more regionally, "the most fundamental and enduring image of the American Midwest is that of agricultural production – America's breadbasket" (Baltensperger, 2007, p. 60). Moreover, the Western is a vessel for community or nation building (Bandy & Stoehr, 2012). Both ranchers and homesteaders are the purveyors of progress and proof of this exists in two monologues, one by rancher Thomas Dunson (John Wayne) in *Red River* and the other by settler Jeremy Baile (Jay C. Flippen) in *Bend of the River*.

THOMAS DUNSON

My land. We're here and we're gonna stay here. Give me ten years and I'll have that brand on the gates of the greatest ranch in Texas. The big house will be down by the river and the corrals and the barns behind it. It'll be a good place to live in. Ten years and I'll have the Red River D on more cattle than you've looked at anywhere. I'll have that brand on enough beef to feed the whole country. Good beef for hungry people. Beef to make 'em strong, make 'em grow. But it takes work it takes sweat and it takes time. Lots of time. It takes years.

JEREMY BAILE

It's what I've always dreamed about Glyn, a new country where we can make things grow. We'll use the trees that nature has given us, cut a clearing in the wilderness. We'll put in roads and use the timber to bridge the streams where we have to. Then we'll build our homes. Build them strong to stand against the winter snows. There'll be a meeting house, a church. We'll have a school. Then we'll put down seedlings. There'll be apples, pears. In a few years they'll bring fruit to the world such as the eyes of man has never seen. All of this is good.

Contemporary viewers might roll their eyes at these maudlin monologues or truly embrace the sentimentality and optimism of a different era of filmmaking. Either way, both

visions are about building a better world, though this was definitely a focus of earlier Westerns in the filmography and the tone shifted to a more subtle or cynical note in later films.

Spatially, the rancher and homesteader narratives are clustered in the High Plains partially because of the popularity of the Johnson County War in Wyoming. Four films in the area spotlight this conflict including *Shane*, *Will Penny*, *The Missouri Breaks*, and the film to dramatize the Johnson County War directly, *Heaven's Gate*. Two others address at least one side of the range war, with *Open Range* focusing on ranching interests and *Cat Ballou* facing down the railroad's attack on her family farm and father.

The majority of the rancher / homesteader Westerns are set in the Northern Plains, but it is a plot that can and has migrated to other settings where ranching and farming exist. In *The Westerner*, Cole Harden (Gary Cooper) gets embroiled in Judge Bean's range war down in Langtry, Texas, and in *El Dorado* the gun-for-hire Cole Thornton (John Wayne) gets involved in a dispute between rival Texan ranchers. *The Westerner* aside, ranching and farming do not conflagrate in Texas, because as Morriss (2004) points out, Texas was state owned land and the plains north of Indian Territory were federal land at the time. Thus, it was easier to buy and sell land in Texas, and since successful farms drove up the price of the remaining ranchlands, the two coexisted peacefully in Texas and, therefore, only one Texas-set Western uses the plot.

California is a Destination, Not a Setting

One of the more interesting trends I deduced in my analysis of the filmography involves the role California plays in the West. The spatial setting results are striking, very few films are set there with only the Sierra Nevada gold mining country receiving any serious attention following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill. This is fascinating because this is one of the fifteen human events that shaped the state of California (Dilsaver, Wyckoff, & Preston, 2000) as

well as the Western, and it is uttered only once in a fleeting *How the West Was Won* scene. But in sixteen Westerns from *Jesse James* to *Young Guns*, California is not a gold mine of spatial settings because it is a destination of the characters. This reflects the transient nature of the West, that people are just passing through on their way to another location.

Some view the state as an escape. Gunfighters like Jimmy Ringo (*The Gunfighter*) along with outlaws Jesse James (Tyrone Power in *Jesse James*) and Billy the Kid and his gang in *Young Guns* (Figure 6-19) view California as a place where they can escape their notorious reputations and start over, though none of these characters actually make it there.

Figure 6-19: Billy the Kid's Gang Discusses Going to California in *Young Guns*

The state is also enticing for many other reasons. Cole Harden in *The Westerner* desires to reach California because he longs to see the Pacific Ocean. In his retirement Captain Nathan Brittles (John Wayne) plans to go west to the new settlements in California in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*. California represents a sort of American Dream for Lina Patch (Janet Leigh) and a new beginning with Howard Kemp (James Stewart) in *The Naked Spur*.

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                    HOWARD KEMP
        Don't you want anything for yourself?

                    LINA PATCH
        Used to think of going to California.
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                    HOWARD KEMP
Why California?

                    LINA PATCH
Someplace new, nobody caring who you are,
or where you come from. A place you could
belong to. A house, and maybe even neighbors.
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California contains a strong sense of place for Lina, that it is not just a destination but the best destination in the West. It is an idealized version of the American Dream where she can carve out a place and call it home.

Most of the Westerns depicting California as a destination were early in the filmography. Twelve of the sixteen occurred in the first twenty years of the filmography and then California became less important as a destination over the last 65 films as the popular image of California evolved. No other location supplanted it, though there were other locations that serve as character destinations[63].

California garners many mentions in Westerns because of the "California Dream," a "promised land for an idyllic Pacific existence" (Starrs & Wright, 1995, p. 417). California's diversity, uniqueness, and attractiveness owe much to it being the largest state in the West, the first state on the west coast, boasting the highest (Mount Whitney) and lowest (Death Valley) elevations in the lower 48 states, and such diverse landscapes as the Mojave Desert, Yosemite, Disneyland, and the agriculturally rich areas of the Central Valley. But mostly, California is a destination in Westerns because people have always gone there, it's viewed as the promise land (Blake, 2014), and an unsatisfactory life propels people to move to this utopian state (Marotta, 2013). Beginning with the post-Sutter's Mill gold rush in the late 1840s up to today, where the

[63] The following places also serve as destinations: Nevada in *Dodge City*, Texas in *Union Pacific*, Mexico in *Stagecoach*, *Lonely are the Brave*, and *The Last Picture Show*, and in what I argue is a parody of the California-as-destination theme, Australia in *Support Your Local Sheriff!*.

state is still the top U.S. tourist destination (Polland, 2014), people travel to California for the weather, the attractions, and the chance for a life changing experience. That is the promise that it holds in the Western but it became less pertinent in later films that fixate on the end of the West. If the West is disappearing in remote areas, then it would have already vanished in a relatively civilized California, the first western state to join the Union.

Spatial Setting Surprises

Sometimes what is missing from the landscape is as important as what is present (DeLyser, 2001), and the results of this study offer some surprising holes. The Western is not enamored with the land of the 49ers, nor the land of the 14ers in Colorado. Wyoming and New Mexico contain multiple films, but a state with the Front Range (including the famed Pikes Peak), Colorado Springs, Denver and a strong regional identity built upon its magnificent mountains does not register nor is it recognized as a special location in the cinematic West (Meinig, 1972). This is absolutely bizarre, especially considering that gold was discovered in Colorado in the fall of 1858 and over 100,000 people traveled there the following spring, "far more than had ever taken to the overland trails in any previous year, even at the height of the California hysteria (West, 1998, p. 145-146).

The state isn't absent entirely. At the conclusion of *Tombstone*, Wyatt Earp (Kurt Russell) visits an ailing Doc Holliday (Val Kilmer) at the 'Glenwood Sanitorium' and then reconnects with Josephine Marcus (Dana Delany) in Denver. However these short scenes do nothing to impart western imagery (aside from Denver and snow) to the viewer since the Glenwood scene was shot in an interior and the dancing in the snow epilogue was a "fake" Tucson set (Cosmatos, director audio commentary, 2002). Also, the setting for *Dances with Wolves* is in the northeastern part of Colorado at Fort Sedgewick, but that "High Plains" setting

is devoid of mountainous imagery save for a four minute scene where Dances with Wolves (Kevin Costner) and Kicking Bird (Graham Greene) ride to a sacred place, what the screenplay calls 'The Broken Forest' (Blake, 1989), which was filmed near Jackson Hole, Wyoming. But this scene is also too short to warrant a mapped setting.

It is striking that Colorado receives little screen time, but this state is not alone, for there is little to no Mormon presence in the filmography either, aside from two films featuring two Ben's. Ben Tatum (Walter Brennan) in *The Far Country* proclaims he will get a ranch with Jeff Webster (James Stewart) and they will settle down in Utah. And Ben Rumson (Lee Marvin) buys a wife, Elizabeth (Jean Seberg), from a belittled Mormon man in *Paint Your Wagon*. *Wagon Master* (1950), a John Ford trail Western about a pair of cowboys who lead a Mormon wagon train to the San Juan valley, is not in the filmography but is one of the few Westerns I know of that deals with the Mormon religion in any significant way. The Mormon culture region is vast, extending from eastern Oregon to Mexico to cities on the Pacific Coast (Meinig, 1965) but it is not an image that Hollywood promotes, perhaps because of the controversial nature of polygamy (Haws, 2013) or perhaps because the Zane Grey oeuvre had thoroughly discussed Mormonism already (Blake, 1995). As a result, Utah's only Western setting shuns Mormonism to focus on the completion of the transcontinental railroad in *Union Pacific*. Meinig (1965) contends that the Mormon domain covers much of Utah. I argue that the average American's geographic image of Mormondom is strongly tied to Utah, and that if a Western is set in Utah then the narrative must somehow address the presence or absence of the controversial religion, which feeds into Hollywood's avoidance of Mormons in general. Moreover, perhaps characteristics of the Mormons themselves oppose Western ideals. Jackson (2003) shrewdly points out that community, a central tenet of the Mormon West, runs counter to the individualism, materialism,

and social Darwinism that characterizes the West and Westerns, which also helps explain why Utah is absent from the spatial settings.

In addition to Colorado and Utah, Montana's emerging montane homeland (Wright, 2001) is the setting for only a couple of Westerns but it is the Pacific Northwest that is extremely underrepresented. Idaho is shut out entirely. Oregon has one film, *Bend of the River*, but it is tied to Mount Hood and not to the Oregon Trail (the wagon train is headed for Portland, not the Willamette Valley). Washington has *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* in a mining boom town and the last part of *Dead Man* touches the Makah Nation in western Washington, but that is all. The Pacific Northwest is not part of the cinematic West.

Trekking further north, I was slightly surprised that there are no U.S.-Canada border Westerns given that The Western Literature Association (1987) fixes the U.S.-Canada line as the northern boundary of the West. *The Missouri Breaks* detours north of the border for a scene where Tom Logan's (Jack Nicholson) gang steals sixty horses from the 'Mounties,' and temporarily brings them back to the States. Between this and the cattle drive into Yukon Territory in *The Far Country*, these are the only two films that set foot in Canada, demonstrating that it, like the Pacific Northwest, is a less compelling part of the American West, and that the High Plains pattern found here more aptly represents the northern boundary of the cinematic West.

Other Spatial Setting Images

A number of themes accompany the three main clusters of spatial settings. Over half (76) of the total number of primary and secondary settings are definitive locations like San Antonio, the San Carlos Reservation, and the Sandia Mountains, but just under half the settings (69) are estimations, meaning that no absolute setting could be mapped, but enough evidence existed in

the narrative to offer an educated guess. Put another way, sixty of the Westerns were difficult to map (including five that are absent entirely) and only forty were not. No other Earth-bound film genre offers such ambiguous location information (Wishart, 2004) and this speaks to the mythic space and nature of the Western (Slotkin, 1992). I concur with Blake (1995) that this forwards the idea that people can have Old West experiences almost anywhere in the American West, especially the Southwest, all without visiting a tourist attraction.

Urban areas contain aspects of civilization and also corruption in what some call ‘town’ Westerns (Frost & Laing, 2015) that were instrumental in nation-building films during the 1930s and 1940s (Coyne, 1997). Two towns stand out from the rest as the most important towns in the Western because of the events that took place there and also because they receive more spatial settings, screen time, and mentions than others: Dodge City and Tombstone. Both own the distinction of having an entry in the filmography that bears their name. Dodge City, with four total settings, is a large reason why Kansas equals California and has more spatial settings than Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Oregon combined. Kansas is not always included in people’s mental maps of the West (Meinig, 1972; Nugent, 1992), and yet this research says it should be, at least the western portion. All of Dodge City’s entries appear early in the filmography, concluding with *Cheyenne Autumn*, but Tombstone is a consistent presence throughout, from film nine (*My Darling Clementine*) to ninety-three (*Tombstone*). It has only three spatial settings, but it is the most talked about town over the course of the filmography. And for all the mentions Tombstone receives, I expected Deadwood, South Dakota, thanks to the gritty HBO series of the same name, to have a more frequent presence in the Western. However, it only shows up for a few minutes during Jack Crabb’s gunfighter stage in *Little Big Man*. The most popular cinematic fort is Fort Smith, Arkansas and the fictitious Fort Stark(e), both of which appear twice. Fort Smith and its

connection to the "Hanging Judge" Isaac Parker forwards the West's image of hanging as a violent means of death and restoring justice.

The final spatial settings image to discuss involves the Westerns that were not mapped[64]. In some cases the filmmakers simply didn't provide any useful spatial setting information, like in *Blazing Saddles*. In others like *High Noon*, there were two potential settings and I could not settle on one. Based upon evidence in the famous film, it could be set on the Great Plains[65] or in California[66]. These vague spatially-set films represent the ambiguous West, a West where adventures and experiences are around any corner and are not tied to a particular landscape in the region. This also perpetuates the mythic West, the most mythic region in North America (Blake, 2014) because when filmmakers avoid establishing spatial settings, they craft an imagined place in viewer's minds, which is a type of mythic landscape.

Temporal Setting Place Images

Spatially vague Westerns only partially contribute to the mysticism and ambiguity. Western myth is established by both place and time and Western plots demonstrate their versatility when it comes to the latter. Some are incredibly short and take place in real time. Let's go back to *High Noon*. With a running time of 85 minutes the viewer witnesses Marshal Will Kane (Gary Cooper) get married at approximately 10:35am and then sees pretty much every single townsperson refuse to help him over the next 85 minutes leading up to his fight against the vengeful Frank Miller (Ian MacDonald), who arrives on the noon train, and his posse. And then

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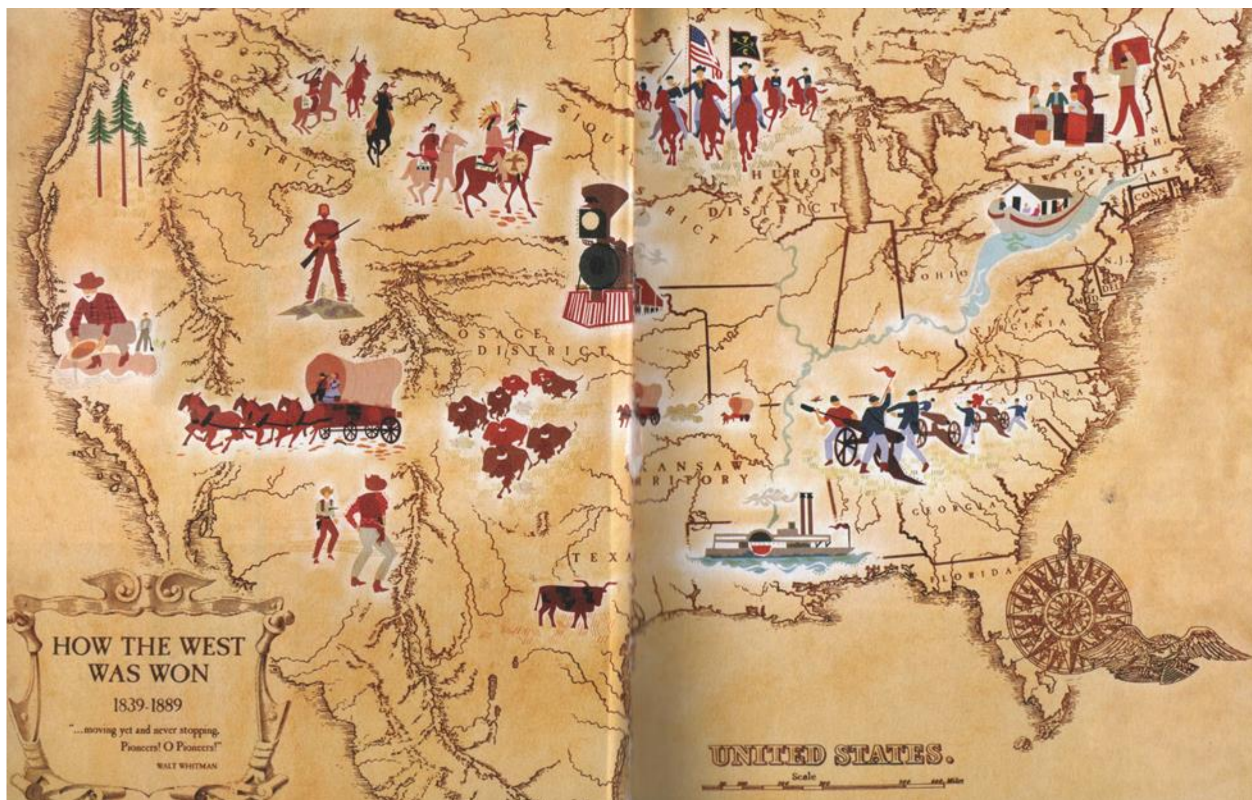
[64] The Westerns that were not mapped are *Destry Rides Again*, *The Gunfighter*, *High Noon*, *Blazing Saddles*, and *Silverado*.

[65] *High Noon* references to the Great Plains include mentions of "Down in Texas," "Down in Abilene," and a St. Louis bound train.

[66] *High Noon* references to California include mentions of Clarksburg (Yolo County), Indian Falls (Plumas County) and the multiple references to the people and politicians "up north" (aka: Sacramento).

there is the case of *How the West Was Won*, a sprawling, auspicious epic featuring a star-studded cast of classic Hollywood elite that endeavors to pack every possible Western image into its 164 minute running time by covering a half century of Manifest Destiny. I consider it a cinematic encyclopedia of the classic Hollywood Western that was slowing down in the early 1960s (Coyne, 1997). Despite my encyclopedic reference to the film, it was not easy to identify its temporal settings across the five chapters and I was aided by its own production materials. Both the Blu-ray and Ultimate Collector's Edition DVD contain a *How the West Was Won* map of the United States that visually depicts some of the iconic pioneer images of Western myth as well as the film's duration: 1839-1889 (Figure 6-20).

Figure 6-20: Temporal Evidence from DVD Booklet of *How the West Was Won*



This film alone posits a West that stretches across six decades and as the Prescott / Rawlings clan ride through Monument Valley at the film's conclusion it hints that the West is not yet at an end.

My research agrees; the West extends from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century and this section discusses place images that arise from the temporal settings of Western cinema.

The Heart of the Genre

Over two-thirds of the filmography is set during the 1860s through the 1880s (Table 6-2), what amounts to the Western heyday. More Westerns are set in the 1880s than in any other decade and the 1870s is not far behind. In fact, splitting the filmography into quarters shows the two decades jockey back and forth for the most frequent temporal setting[67].

Table 6-2: Temporal Settings of the Filmography by Decade[68]

	Decade	# of Westerns
1	1880s	33
2	1870s	23
3	1860s	11
4	1890s	8
5	Present Day	5
6	1900s	4
7	1850s	3
8	Pre-1800s	2
9	1910s	2
10	1940s	2
11	1820s	1
12	1830s	1
13	1920s	1
14	1950s	1
15	1960s	1
16	1980s	1
How the West Was Won Excluded		

	Decade	# of Westerns
1	Pre-1800s	2
2	1820s	1
3	1830s	1
4	1850s	3
5	1860s	11
6	1870s	23
7	1880s	33
8	1890s	8
9	1900s	4
10	1910s	2
11	1920s	1
12	1940s	2
13	1950s	1
14	1960s	1
15	1980s	1
16	Present Day	5
How the West Was Won Excluded		

The 1870s and 1880s are the most popular decades in Western cinema in part because they offer multiple historical events that have become lionized in Western lore, and they revolve

[67] The 1870s are the most frequent temporal setting in the first quarter (1-25) and third quarter (51-75) of the filmography and the 1880s dominate the second quarter (26-50) and fourth quarter (76-100).

[68] The primary temporal setting for each film was listed depending upon the decade in which it occurred. *How the West Was Won* is omitted because the film traverses six decades, none of which is held up as more important than another. *Brokeback Mountain* occurs over twenty years but was tabulated in the 1960s due to the beginning of Ennis and Jack's relationship and the narrative title at the beginning of the film (1963) being more influential or memorable to the audience than events throughout the next two decades.

around three iconic figures: George Custer, Geronimo, and Wyatt Earp. Custer and Earp were involved in two of the most memorable events in American West history (Blake, 2007).

Custer shows up routinely in the filmography, more than any other character through exposition (*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, *Winchester '73*, *Cat Ballou*, *The Cowboys*), as an actual character (*Little Big Man*), as an allegory (*Fort Apache*), and in a portentous saloon portrait (*The Gunfighter*). Filmmakers regularly reference Custer in the front end of the filmography because his characteristic blonde locks, flamboyance, and hubris make him a well-known mythical figure to Americans, but in so doing they signal to the audience that a particular Western is set on or before 1876. This date sticks with American audiences because it coincides with his demise at the Battle of the Little Bighorn on June 25th, 1876 and it is also the United States Centennial. As such, Custer serves as a significant temporal marker whereby his death signals the beginning of the elegiac Westerns that focus on the end of the Old West. Most of these somber Westerns occur in the 1880s or later, after Custer has died and the Army / Indian conflicts have mostly concluded.

Geronimo is also an active figure not just in spatially shaping the image of Western cinema but also in deriving its temporal high point of the 1880s. Since the Apache play such a large role in numerous Westerns it stands to reason they would also influence the temporal settings as well with all but two of their films coming in the 1870s and 1880s. The Apache exit the Western with Geronimo's surrender, which is chronicled in *Geronimo: An American Legend*, but their first temporal appearance is in 1864-1865 with *Major Dundee* then the late 1860s with *3:10 to Yuma*, though Geronimo does not appear in either of those films. It is curious that *3:10 to Yuma* utilizes the Apache in its narrative because it mixes two different temporal settings. I argue the film is set in the 'late 1860s' due to the Civil War references, but then the Apache are

dropped into the plot as a potential menace. It is suggested that the pinnacle of Apache resistance has passed because only a few remain in the mountains, a cinematic precedent attributed more to the 1870s and definitely the 1880s than the 1860s, but since this is not common knowledge to most viewers the incongruous inclusion is ignored. Nonetheless, this extends the reach of the Apache (and Geronimo, by association) to earlier points in the filmography thereby further entrenching them in the Western.

Wyatt Earp is the final temporal setting key figure. There are three Westerns in the filmography where Earp is the protagonist (*My Darling Clementine*, *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral*, and *Tombstone*) and he has a “cynically comic” bit part in *Cheyenne Autumn* (Saunders, 2001, p. 81), though parallels exist between Wade Hatton (Errol Flynn) and the mythic Earp in *Dodge City*. Like Custer, Earp’s legend was born and is forever tied to an historic and mythologized event except that he didn’t die during the shootout at the O.K. Corral in Tombstone, Arizona on October 26th, 1881, an event depicted in the three previously mentioned Earp-focused films. Earp is the archetypal peace officer of the American West (Blake, 2007) and he is also the zenith of Western lawmen, meaning that no Western has a sheriff protagonist in a plot set after the 1880s.

In fact, with films like *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, *The Missouri Breaks*, and *The Wild Bunch*, it is the outlaws that take the narrative reigns after the 1880s. Westerns involving American Indians spatially correlate with a region of the West like the Apache and in southeast Arizona or the Comanche in Texas. Likewise, there is a small temporal correlation between when a film is set and the storyline, and it is the outlaws that are the focus of these later Westerns.

And speaking of outlaws, I figured Billy the Kid would have played a larger role in the filmography, the yin to Earp’s yang. This was not the case as William Bonney shows up in two

films (*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* and *Young Guns*) but comes in second to the most mentioned outlaw in the Western: Jesse James. Both men died within a year of each other in 1881 (Bonney) and 1882 (James), but the outlaw narrative in Westerns builds upon these famous criminals into the 1890s (Butch and Sundance) and also into the twentieth century (*The Wild Bunch*). Earp and outlaws provide important images to the Western, especially if the latter is paired with an elegiac story that bemoans the end of the West.

A Long Life Span

The cinematic Western's temporal lifetime is much longer than most experts believe. Many estimates of the Old West's duration mirror that of Daly and Persky (1990), who calculate the Old West lived 28 years, between the Civil War's end in 1865 and Turner's end-of-the-frontier thesis in 1893. However, *Major Dundee*, *Dances with Wolves*, and arguably the most famous Spaghetti Western ever, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, all take place during the Civil War, thereby extending the temporal boundaries to the early 1860s.

Simmon (2003) estimates Kit Carson's search for a woman in 1849 as a possible beginning of the Old West and French (1977) goes back even further, identifying the death of the famous frontiersman, Davy Crockett, at the Alamo in 1836 as the start of the genre, though three entries in the filmography predate even this historical event, which furthers the idea that the West is more eclectic than just the standard 1860s-1880s time frame.

The three 1850s set Westerns are strongly entrenched in the mountains. *Bend of the River* revolves around Mount Hood, *Paint Your Wagon* musically involves prospecting for gold in the Sierra Nevada, and *Jeremiah Johnson* serves as the only true mountain man narrative in the filmography and is also the only Western that imbues the mountainous West with a strong sense of place, or spirit of place (Flores, 1998), beyond that of a rugged landscape the protagonist must

conquer. Instead, Bear Claw (Will Geer) takes the title character (Robert Redford) under his claw and teaches him how to live with the mountains, not just in them (Figure 6-21).

Figure 6-21: Living in the Mountains in *Jeremiah Johnson*

I expected a slightly larger presence of mountain man characters like Johnson and Bear Claw. But with only seven films preceding the outset of the Civil War, and none featuring Kit Carson, Jedediah Smith (Mayo, 2009), or the inspiration for Leonard DiCaprio's Oscar-winning role in *The Revenant* (2015), Hugh Glass, the mountain man image is not as essential to Western film as it was to literature. James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales appear in film with *The Last of the Mohicans* but characters like Nathaniel "Natty" Bumppo have been replaced throughout Westerns with the cowboy and gunfighter archetype. Nothing in the filmography focuses on trappers because trappers and the cinematically abundant cowboy are of two distinct temporal settings, of which Hollywood clearly favors the latter. In fact, in the early Westerns trapping is already obsolete. Bear Claw informs Johnson that his area has been trapped out since 1825.

Though only seven films predate the 1860s, a quarter of the filmography occurs after the 1880s, and this is what gives the West its long life span. The early 1890s is a common end date for the West (Kitses, 1969; Wright, 1975), but my filmography paints a much different picture. Similar to Blake's (1995) argument that Zane Grey's novels extended the idealized, frontier West into the twentieth century, Western cinema is doing a similar thing. Eight of the twenty-

five Westerns occur during the 1890s meaning that seventeen, or almost one in five, transpire during the 1900s. This engenders an image of a West that is still vibrant, and it exists throughout the entire century. At least one Western occurs during each decade of the twentieth century and all but three of these films were released after 1960, signaling a subtle shift in Hollywood's definition of the West. Some of this shift in Western narratives reflects the evolution of New Western History and its stories that were pioneered by Wallace Stegner and Larry McMurtry (Etulain, 1999) as well as Nash's (1982) plea to study the twentieth century West. These stories reside in the West but do not always tell tales of the frontier West. But many of them are much more recent, pulling the Western as a whole to a later date, like McMurtry's own *Brokeback Mountain* that covers 1963 to 1983 and the 1980 setting for *No Country for Old Men*. These films do not jive with the traditional Western paradigm so they are given different names. Even the Coen brothers who wrote and directed *No Country for Old Men* can't seem to agree if their Oscar-winning Best Picture is a Western or not (Hirschberg, 2007). Regardless, these films, especially the five 'Present Day'[69] Westerns, are an amalgamation of traditional and reimagined Western tropes that extend the lifetime of the genre well past its 1865-1890 peak.

Circa the Ambiguous West

For all of its specificity, versatility, and emergence into the twentieth century, the Western temporal setting is still also quite vague. Filmmakers in general are not nearly as forthcoming with 'when' the film takes place as they are with 'where' the film takes place. Compared to the five spatially ambiguous Westerns that are not mapped, twenty-three receive

[69] The 'Present Day' Westerns are *The Misfits* (1961), *Lonely are the Brave* (1962), *Hud* (1963), *Junior Bonner* (1972), and *Lone Star* (1996).

the 'circa'[70] label, proof that specific dates are less common which I argue enhances the West's mythic status. Many filmmakers establish the time period using specific narrative titles and then others appear either unwilling or uninterested in providing temporal setting clues to any degree. Budd Boetticher's pictures are vexingly unconcerned with establishing temporal settings. All four of his entries in the filmography are difficult to identify, yet they exist in the same decade: the 1880s. This decade is the most frequent temporal setting, and therefore the most familiar to audiences. I contend that if filmmakers want to set their Western outside of the traditional 1860s-1880s time period then they must directly address this, but for films that transpire during the pinnacle filmmakers can rely upon previously established temporal conventions. For instance, audiences identify certain artifacts with certain periods in history. Westerns set in the 1870s and 1880s are expected to contain railroads, repeating rifles, and telegraphs, and be devoid of automobiles, machine guns, and telephones. This is something that twentieth century Westerns do quite well and quite often because with the exception of *Giant* and *Ride the High Country*, there are explicit and specific indications of the temporal setting in these films.

And then there are three Westerns that contradict history, meaning that historical events dispute the temporal setting of the film (see the * in the 'Temporal Setting' column of Table 5-1). In *My Darling Clementine* James Earp's death apparently occurs in 1882 even though the OK Corral shootout that concludes the film occurred in 1881. In *Hondo* Buffalo Baker (Ward Bond) discloses it is 1870, but the film references events that took place in 1871 and toward the end of that decade. And Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid died later than the 1898 temporal setting of their film. Audiences are unlikely to harp on these anachronisms unless they know their

[70] Circa (c.) denotes an approximate date or one in which I make a guess as to the film's temporal setting.

history, but Westerns with approximate or inaccurate temporal settings allow the genre to continue its mysticism and temporal ambiguity.

Filming Location Place Images

"The real star of my Westerns is the land. A Western is all about the land." – John Ford

Ford's words, spoken during the shooting of *Cheyenne Autumn*, his last film shot in Monument Valley, are significant since he is most responsible for 'inventing' Monument Valley (Buscombe, 1998) and ingraining its mesas and Mittens buttes, particularly West Mitten Butte (Blake, 2014) into Western film and myth. Ever since *The Great Train Robbery* filming locations have been a vital component of the narrative, to the point where the landscape becomes a major character in the film (Helphand, 1986; Shapiro, 2005; Escher, 2006), akin to "a catalyst that drives the narrative and structures the film's haptical and emotional resonances" (Jazairy, 2009, p. 358). This section discusses the interplay of the urban, mountain, desert, and plains West with an overlay of aridity and impressive rock formations. These place images are common across the 191 filming locations found in four countries (Figure 5-27).

The Urban West in Hollywood's Studio Sets and Backlots

Filming on location is expensive (Berg, 2015). As such, Hollywood executives insert cheap facsimiles of landscapes whenever possible and the easiest Western place to create is the urban setting. To depict small towns in the West, Hollywood utilizes its own studio sets and backlots as well as Old Tucson Studios near Tucson, Arizona and a few other locations.

Los Angeles is the top cinematic city in North America and the world (Lukinbeal, 1998) so it makes some sense that Hollywood studio sets or backlots would be listed as the primary, secondary, or tertiary filming location for over one quarter of the filmography, twenty-seven

films total.[71] Moreover, a quarter of all filming locations were in California (Table 6-3). Many more Westerns used studio spaces in Los Angeles, but the scenes were either too short or insignificant to garner a filming location mention.

Table 6-3: Filming Locations by U.S. State, Country, and Place

	State	# of Filming Locations
1	California	55
2	Arizona	27
3	New Mexico	17
4	Mexico	15
5	Canada	11
6	Utah	10
7	Spain	9
8	Nevada	8
9	Monument Valley	7
10	Colorado	7
11	Texas	7
12	Montana	3
13	North Carolina	3
14	Oregon	3
15	South Dakota	3
16	Idaho	2
17	Missouri	2
18	Illinois	1
19	Wyoming	1
	TOTAL	191

For all the Westerns shot in Los Angeles, the urban landscapes of backlots are unremarkable and are only memorable when a viewer can identify a repeat setting, such as when two Westerns use the same backlot. For instance, it breaks the fourth wall to watch, from nearly an identical camera angle, Henry Fonda ride his horse by the same 20th Century Fox backlot

[71] The twenty-seven Los Angeles / Hollywood area filming locations are: *Dodge City* (3p), *Union Pacific* (4p), *Destry Rides Again* (6p), *The Ox-Bow Incident* (8p), *Duel in the Sun* (10t), *Pursued* (11s), *Fort Apache* (13s), *The Gunfighter* (16p), *Winchester '73* (17s), *Broken Arrow* (18s), *High Noon* (21p), *Shane* (23s), *Bad Day at Black Rock* (27s), *The Far Country* (28s), *Seven Men from Now* (31s), *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* (34p), *Man of the West* (36s), *Rio Bravo* (38s), *Warlock* (39p), *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (45p, 45s), *Ride the High Country* (47p), *How the West Was Won* (48c), *Cat Ballou* (52s, 52t), *Hang 'em High* (61p), *Support Your Local Sheriff!* (62), *Blazing Saddles* (81p), and *The Shootist* (84s).

saloon in *The Ox-Bow Incident* and then sixteen years later in *Warlock* (Figure 6-22). The set dressing for each film is distinct enough (aided by the absence / presence of color), but at the same time there is nothing here, or in any backlot, that strikes the emotional resonance that Jazairy (2009) describes.

Figure 6-22: 20th Century Fox Saloon Double in *The Ox-Bow Incident* and *Warlock*

All backlots generally look the same because they are placeless, evoking expressions of cramped and crammed space, not place. Higson (1984) discusses the interplay of space and place in film, and backlots and studio sets represent space more than place, because “with landscape as space, the emphasis of the mise en scène[72] is on narration and dialogue rather than on grand scenery” (Lukinbeal, 2004, p. 309). According to this, sweeping vistas and scenic landscapes are more kin to place than the Western town’s typical string of store fronts strewn across the screen to hide the fact that the modern world of Los Angeles, or another film genre’s ‘fairyland’ (Bingen, 2014), lies beyond. The never ending building facade imbues some ‘Town Westerns’ like *High Noon* and especially *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* with a feeling of claustrophobia (Pearson, 2009) and the viewer with a sense that they could get lost in some of these towns because everything looks the same and they are never ending, a juxtaposition with wide open spaces.

[72] Mise en scène is a film studies term that means ‘film space’ (Aitken & Dixon, 2006) or ‘staging in action’ (Peckham, 2004), or literally ‘having been put into the scene’ (Burgess, 1987).

Studio backlots fell out of favor after the 1950s as Hollywood transitioned to new, more convincing urban environments. Eighteen of the twenty-four studio filming locations came before 1965 and none have been used since Wayne's last Western, *The Shootist*, in 1976.

An oversaturation of backlot images compelled Hollywood to look outside Los Angeles for appealing urban (as well as other) locations, and improvements in the country's transportation infrastructure helped make this a reality. The interstate highway system allowed for easier transportation of actors and equipment to some visually spectacular filming locations situated within the vicinity of urban centers. The Santa Fe and Old Tucson filming location nodes are easily accessible by interstate from Los Angeles as well as the smaller groupings of locations concentrated around Las Vegas and Reno, Nevada. These latter two locations also offer amenities that are attractive to productions but are missing from places like Monument Valley and the Alabama Hills, which might partially account for why these locations weren't used in the latter half of the filmography.

The selection of Western filming locations involves a combination of landscapes (mountains, deserts, plains / open spaces) with an overlay of aridity and impressive rock formations and also factors in transportation logistics, location amenities, the proximity to American Indians, and spectacular natural lighting. The major filming location nodes all have combinations of these characteristics. Take Monument Valley, for instance, which encompasses an arid, desert landscape with plains, other-worldly mesas and buttes, impressive lighting, and is on Navajo land, but lacks mountains and an easy-to-reach location.

The Mountainous West

Not all studio sets were in Hollywood's backyard. The town of 'Deaddog' in *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* utilized the short-lived Apacheland set located near Apache Junction, Arizona,

but it was another Arizona location that would serve a greater number of Westerns. In 1939, Old Tucson Studios was constructed ten miles from Tucson, Arizona utilizing an 1864 map of the city (Slatta, 2001). This 320 acre set was built before for the production of *Arizona* (1940) because Hollywood desired a permanent presence in Arizona (Hofstetter, 2002). The set subsisted for the next half century until a fire in 1995 destroyed 40% of it, primarily on the north end (Lawton, 2008). But over those 55 years the six Westerns in the filmography (and others in film and TV) highlighted two differences that the sets in Los Angeles did not offer. Built in the Tucson Mountains, Old Tucson presents not just dramatic mountain landscapes but also saguaro cactus, both of which are vital Western place images, to accompany the expected wood and adobe urban dwellings. The most prominent landscape feature of Old Tucson is Golden Gate Peak, which is shown in the background in Figure 6-23 with Burt Lancaster (left picture) from *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* and John Wayne (right picture) from *El Dorado* in the foreground.

Figure 6-23: Golden Gate Peak and Saguaros in *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* and *El Dorado*

Surrounding Old Tucson is a large grouping of filming locations in southeast Arizona, an area that is incredibly diverse for filmmaking. Its popularity comes from the location's accessibility from Los Angeles along Interstate 10, unique rocks, mountains, the Sonoran Desert, saguaro cactus, plains, grasslands, and even a river, and the latter two are seen in *Red River*.

Mountains and visually striking landscapes are omnipresent in the filmography, in part because they have been linked to images of the West since the paintings of Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Moran, and others portrayed "a West of mighty mountains … of natural – almost supernatural – wonder" (Goetzmann & Goetzmann, 1986, p. 148).

All five major filming location clusters[73] are within eyeshot of impressive terrain. In addition to Old Tucson, Monument Valley is an internationally recognizable landscape (Carmichael, 2006) known for its signature mesas and buttes (Figure 6-24). Filmmakers have utilized Lone Pine not just because of the exfoliated Alabama Hills, but also because Mount Whitney and the Sierra Nevada tower above all else in the background (Figure 6-25). Santa Fe, on the southern edge of the colorful Sangre de Cristo range (Figure 6-26), is the fourth major film node.

Figure 6-24: Monument Valley in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* and *Fort Apache*

[73] The major filming location clusters are (in no particular order): Los Angeles (LA), the Alabama Hills (AH), Monument Valley (MV), Old Tucson (OT), and Santa Fe (SF). The initials are bolded on the filming locations map not because they are the most important but because they contained more filming locations than could be mapped.

Figure 6-25: Establishing Shot of the Sierra Nevada and Alabama Hills

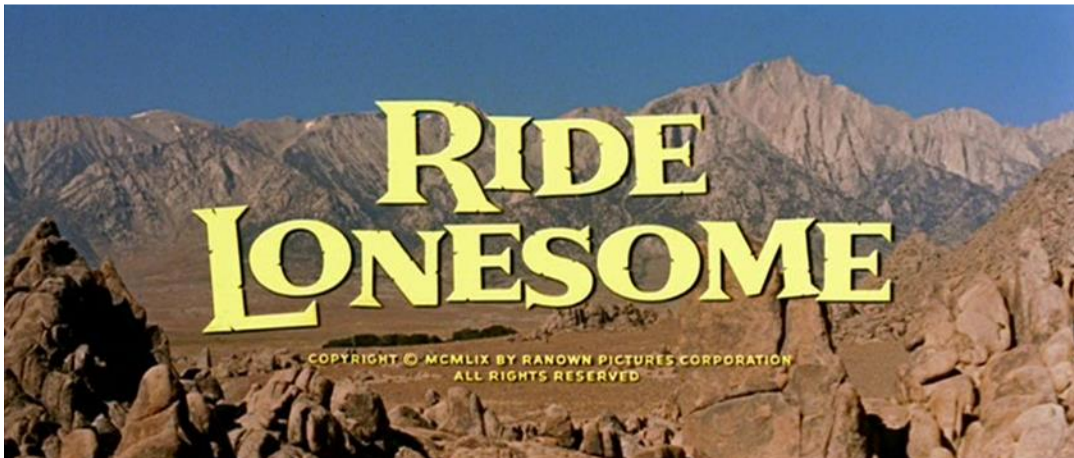


Figure 6-26: Ghost Ranch near Abiquiu, New Mexico in *3:10 to Yuma*

The fact that these nodes and many other parts of the Mountainous West serve as the backdrop to so many films demonstrates its visual significance to the genre. In fact, it is quicker to identify the filming locations that are devoid of mountainous scenery because there are so few.

Two trends emerge from the use of mountains in the filmography. In the first thirty years filmmakers opted for the visually stunning, iconic landscapes that made Monument Valley and Alabama Hills special and famous (Hausladen, 2003). But neither of these filming locations appears in the back half of the filmography, in part because filmmakers considered it plagiarism

to shoot in John Ford's signature Monument Valley landscape[74] (Bogdanovich, 1968), but also because these locations became as well known and recognizable as the movie stars that rode through them. This saturation bred a familiarity that I believe led to the second trend: Hollywood branching out into new areas after the 1960s. Only three films were shot north of the 42nd parallel before 1960, but in the next half century that number jumped to thirteen, the majority of which came from Alberta. The Western Literature Association (1987) claims that "if Canada has a wild West, it might be found in Alberta" (p. 1010) and to an extent they are right, because though Canada is absent from the spatial setting West it does have a strong, recent presence through filming locations.

The Desert West

"The West is defined not only by its elevation and slope, but also by its peculiar diversity of environments" (Wyckoff & Dilsaver, 1995b, p. 1). As this quote states, mountains are common, but they are not the only landscape and image of the Western. Buscombe (1998) argues "today when we think of the West and the Western, it's not mountains, trees, and lakes that first come to mind, but more often the deserts and canyon lands of Arizona and Utah" (p. 118). Scholars beginning with John Wesley Powell (Worster, 1992; Worster, 2009), continuing through Walter Prescott Webb (1931) and including writers like Stegner (1987) have long emphasized that the Great Plains and many parts of the West are more arid than the eastern U.S., a fact Smith (1950) addresses in his "The Garden and the Desert" chapter. Interestingly, though the Western promulgates American myths, in this case it visually portrays realism (aridity) over

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[74] Though not as revered in the film community, Budd Boetticher is a filmmaker with his own signature landscape: the Alabama Hills, a location he employs in all four of his Westerns in the filmography. However, Boetticher is not routinely linked with this location, in part, because he is just one of many famous filmmakers to shoot Westerns among the spectacular rock formations to the west of Lone Pine, California.

myth (garden). With so many California, Arizona, and New Mexico filming locations it is understandable that the Desert Southwest would play a prominent role in place images of the West. The five main clusters are all located in some of the driest parts of the U.S., and while there are some 'islands of moisture' (Vale, 1995), water is a resource that is fought over (*El Dorado*) as well as found and sold (*The Ballad of Cable Hogue*), but it is rarely seen in films shot in the Southwest despite being at the heart of the paradox of the West (Worster, 1992).

Part of the Western's depiction of aridity is in how water is portrayed. Rivers serve as spatial setting indicators, but despite five Westerns enjoying water related titles[75] rivers are rarely depicted as anything other than barriers and boundaries. This is because in 'classic' Westerns directors never focus on "the rich possibilities of the riverine environment" (Pinard, 2006, p. 127). *Red River* received its title, in part, because of the famous river crossing scene (Figure 6-27). Union soldier pursuit of Josey Wales turns into a "Missouri boat ride" when Wales (Clint Eastwood) shoots and breaks the ferry rope escorting the soldiers across a river in *The Outlaw Josey Wales*. And Charlie Waite (Kevin Costner) bravely traverses a flash flood gulley, saving a dog in the process, through downtown Harmonville in *Open Range*. Only one of these barrier examples was shot in the Southwest, *Red River*, and for the aforementioned scene five dams had to be constructed along the San Pedro River to build up enough water to simulate the Red River (Andreychuk, 1997). The other way that water appears is as a boundary separating the U.S. and Mexico, which is seen in *Rio Grande*, *Major Dundee*, *Fistful of Dollars*, *The Wild Bunch*, and *No Country for Old Men* (Figure 6-28).

[75] The Westerns with water related titles are *Red River*, *Rio Grande*, *Bend of the River*, *Rio Bravo*, and *The Missouri Breaks*.

Figure 6-27: Crossing the Red (San Pedro) River in *Red River*

Figure 6-28: Rio Grande in *Rio Grande* and *The Wild Bunch*

But the strongest images of an arid West are through its desert scenes, which are usually portrayed as harsh and dangerous and an unlivable place to cross (Limerick, 1989). For example, in *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* Tuco nearly puts Blondie (Clint Eastwood) out of his dehydrated misery during their 100-mile desert trek (Figure 6-29), a nod to New Mexico's famed and fatal Jornada del Muerto, a challenging and death defying departure off the Rio Grande along the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro that stretches about ninety miles between Rincon and San Marcial (Mather & Thompson, 1995). Marshall Jed Cooper (Eastwood, again) barely survives bringing three killers across the desert (the beautiful White Sands National Monument) in *Hang 'em High* (Figure 6-30).

Figure 6-29: An Unforgiving Desert in *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*

Figure 6-30: A Dangerous Desert in *Hang 'em High*

The Spaghetti Westerns strongly adhere to the dry image of the West. Across all four films the windswept and dusty filming locations, mostly scattered across Almería, Spain, crystallize a landscape that is "stark, foreboding, dangerous, God-forsaken" (Hausladen, 2003, p. 312) with a penchant for operatic violence. There is no doubt director Sergio Leone's image of the West was of the desert considering his fondness for filming in Almería, Spain, home to Europe's only desert. The images of these four films, especially *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, are magnified given their continued popularity amongst audiences that visit websites like Rotten Tomatoes and the Internet Movie Database.

Wide open spaces dominate Western landscapes and deserts fit the bill not just because they provide obstacles for characters but also because they provide the impression of vacancy

(Limerick, 1989). The desert is so ingrained into the Western, that occasionally viewers must suspend reality. It is difficult to accept that the extended family of Ethan Edwards (John Wayne) in *The Searchers* could possibly raise cattle on the sparse vegetation scattered across Monument Valley (Figure 6-31).

Figure 6-31: Limited Vegetation to Raise Cattle in *The Searchers*

But this is partially what imbues the Western with its mythic status that promotes American Exceptionalism: the notion that people's blood, sweat, and tears could turn a desolate space into a thriving community and living place, much the same way Dan Evans (Christian Bale) talks about in *3:10 to Yuma* when he convinces his wife why he must take Ben Wade (Russell Crowe) to justice. The job will net him $200 which will allow him to get out from under some debts and buy water along with, it seems, a whole new life.

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                DAN EVANS
Six months from now everything's going
to be green. The cows are going to be fat.
We might even see the steam from the train
coming over the ridge.
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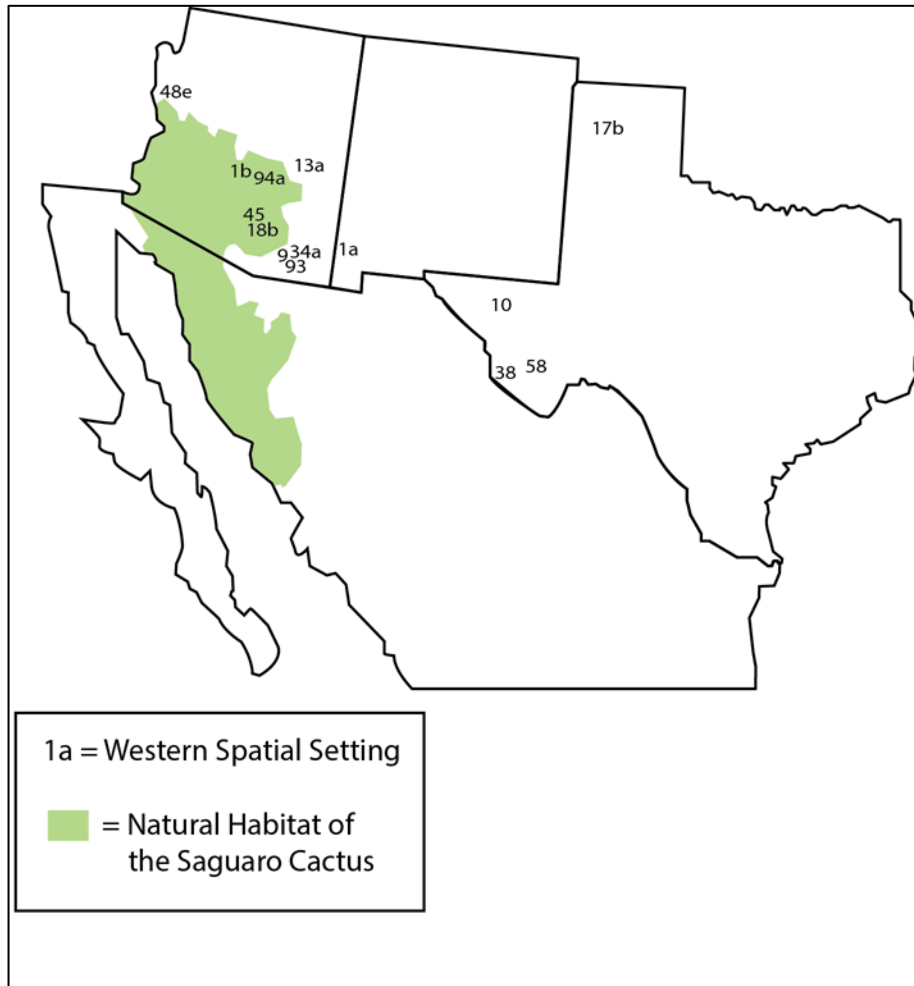
The West's entrepreneurial spirit plays out in the Western that land is only worth something if it can be prepared by those with vision, which goes back to the space into place theme. Railroad[76] Westerns like *Union Pacific*, *How the West was Won*, and *Once Upon a Time in the West* speak to this using different methods. So in a way, Smith's Garden and Desert metaphors are both place images of the West, it is just that in the Western the desert is shown on screen but the garden is what's coming over the ridge.

The Saguaro Cactus

Not to be confused with the Garden metaphor that implies agriculture and progress, flora is also an important contributor to Western place images. No matter what the landscape is, native plant life provides viewers an impression of the region. By far the most iconic flora image in the Western is the saguaro cactus. Native to the Sonoran Desert and strongly associated with desert imagery in general, fourteen films use saguaros, though not all of them were real. Many films were shot in locations endemic to the saguaro but the settings of these Westerns tend to extend beyond the saguaro's natural habitat, which spreads the influence of the saguaro beyond Arizona and Mexico. Figure 6-32 shows the expanse of saguaro country in the Western. The shaded area is where saguaros naturally grow and the numbers represent the spatial settings for films that include shots of saguaros. Four observations can be made.

[76] In chapter 2 while discussing Krim's (1994) 'regional' study of Route 66, I wondered 'what is the Route 66 of the cinematic Old West?' My guess of a trail has proven to be incorrect. It is the railroad that is the equivalent of today's highway system and the transcontinental railroad better represents the cinematic Route 66.

Figure 6-32: Spatial Setting Expanse of the Saguaro in the Filmography



First, the saguaro is firmly rooted in Arizona, which shouldn't be too surprising since the cactus blossom has long been the state flower. Nine of the fourteen films are set in Arizona and its initial appearance is in *Stagecoach*, for which I list both settings because the film's saguaro shots are spatially somewhere between Tonto (1b) and Lordsburg (1a), but I argue they are definitely meant to evoke images of Arizona since the shots of them occur at Apache Wells (filmed on a studio set – left image of Figure 6-33) and then between Apache Wells and Lees Ferry (right image of Figure 6-33), the stop before the nine passengers reach Lordsburg.

Figure 6-33: Saguaro Images in *Stagecoach*

Second, only four of the films displaying saguaros were set inside the region where it actually grows. This may seem inconsequential but the spatial settings for two of those Westerns (*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* and especially *Dead Man*[77]) were selected, in no small part, because the saguaro served as a vital spatial clue. What clouds this issue is that these two Westerns employed fake saguaros, meaning they were transplanted by the set decorator, likely at directors John Ford and Jim Jarmusch's request, and were not naturally growing cacti (Figure 6-34). California's Conejo Ranch (*Liberty Valance*) is well outside the extent of the saguaro's native habitat, but what Ford and Jarmusch are doing here is summoning the landscapes that audiences associate with the Western and in turn are expanding the breadth of this image. The fact that they inserted a cactus where it does not naturally grow is a strong sign the saguaro is a firmly established image of the West.

[77] The secondary spatial setting for *Dead Man* is the Makah Nation, but the primary setting is extremely ambiguous, to the point where the shots in the fictitious town of Machine (Figure 6-33) that include transplanted saguaros were the main basis for the setting of a Sonoran Desert mining town in Arizona. The image of the saguaro is so strongly tied to Arizona that it became the strongest argument for this setting. However, since the Makah Nation is in the extreme northwestern tip of Washington, an Arizona and Washington spatial setting seems far-fetched, but this is the image that viewers are given.

Figure 6-34: Saguaro Images in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* and *Dead Man*

Third, saguaros reach a saturation point in the filmography and are absent throughout the entire 1970s and 1980s. The genre's rejuvenation in the 1990s meant a return to the famous images that begat the genre in the first place, which is part of why the saguaro reappears in *Tombstone* (though filming at Old Tucson Studios helped) and *Dead Man*.

Fourth, based upon the four Westerns spatially set in the Lone Star state, the saguaro is also tied to Texas in a small way. All four Westerns were filmed in the Tucson area with *El Dorado* showcasing Saguaro National Park and its impressive spread of saguaro and cholla cacti (Figure 6-35).

Figure 6-35: Saguaro Images in Texas-set *El Dorado* and *Winchester '73*

Filmmakers rely on audiences being unaware that saguaros are native to Arizona and not Texas, to the point where even some Texans identify with the saguaro (Nicholson, 1991). The Chihuahan Desert reaches into Texas and the prickly pear cactus is what should be associated

with the state (it is the official state cactus), but it is a rare image in the Western. Since there are so few Texas / Chihuahuan Desert filming locations, it only appears as a significant focus for the opening / establishing shot of *Lone Star*. The saguaros iconic status owes to it being easier to identify by even the most naïve of viewers. Its form is simple to remember but the saguaro's verticality is what sets it apart. Topping out between 40-60 feet in height, the saguaro towers over the landscape, and as such, is like the mountain of Western flora.

The Plains West

> The Prairies and Plains, while less stunning at first sight, last longer, fill the esthetic sense fuller, precede all the rest, and make North America's characteristic landscape. Indeed through the whole of this journey, with all its shows and varieties, what most impress'd me, and will longest remain with me, are these same prairies. Day after day, and night after night, to my eyes, to all my senses—the esthetic one most of all—they silently and broadly unfolded. (Whitman, 1882, p. 150)

Mountains, deserts, and saguaros are certainly powerful images of Western cinema that dominate the screen, but even though the plains may not be as visually striking to the average American, Whitman still considers them the characteristic landscape of North America. The Western agrees with Whitman, just not visually. In the filmography the mountains attract the eye but it is the plains that are usually the location where the plot happens, and as such, represent a vital place image. With all the wonderful scenery the Western offers, the plains are often forgotten because they are the foreground, silently and broadly unfolded, until the eye reaches the majestic mountains in the background. Take, for instance, the image from *Shane* in Figure 6-36. In the foreground is Stonewall Torrey's (Elisha Cook Jr.) funeral following his muddy

demise at the hands of Wilson. The titanic Tetons loom in the background, but in the middle ground is the town with Grafton's saloon where the bulk of the film's memorable action takes place. It is where Shane and Starrett (Van Heflin) fight off Ryker's men with their bare hands and where Shane famously draws on Wilson, the 'low down Yankee liar,' and then Ryker.

Figure 6-36: Plains and Mountains in *Shane*

The mountains are what people remember of *Shane* (Mitchell, 2012), but the Wyoming valley was home to the rancher / homesteader conflict. And this is the place image that runs steadily throughout the filmography: that plains are the location of the plot but mountains are the landscape focus. The filming locations map (Figure 5-27) shows that the vast majority of the filming locations are near mountainous areas. Aside from a few films like *The Naked Spur*, *Jeremiah Johnson*, and *The Last of the Mohicans*, most Westerns stage the action and conflict on terrain that is conducive to completing a production on schedule and on or under budget. Nevada's filming locations illustrates this. Six Westerns shot in Nevada but all eight filming

locations are within close proximity to two cities: Las Vegas and Reno. The rest of the state has ample filming location possibilities (more BLM land than any other state in the lower 48), but lugging equipment, people, and resources many miles to remote locations each day is a recipe for problems like those that plagued the 46-mile jaunt from Baker to East Fork Eagle Creek, Oregon in *Paint Your Wagon* (Browning, 1969) and caused it to go over budget and become the sixth most expensive film ever made at the time (Holston, 2013). As such, Hollywood opts for easier shoots, and that involves a more negotiable topography, like the plains, that still contains vertical expanses in the distance.

The noticeable outliers to this trend are *Hud*, *The Last Picture Show*, and *Dances with Wolves*, all of which are fascinating because they are polar opposites. *Hud* deals with the end of the West (Gallafent, 1996) as does *The Last Picture Show*, and both are filmed precisely where they are set. A mountainous locale would have been too redolent of the mythic West, thus de-romanticized (and accurate) landscapes of West Texas were chosen and purposefully shot in black and white to add to the plot's bleak tone (Figure 6-37). On the other hand, *Dances with Wolves* goes the other way and is "a powerful cinematic reminder of the grandeur of the prairie that once spanned the heart of the North American continent" (Baird, 2007, p. 58). Its popularity is a boon to the plains and prairie because it is one of the few Westerns to spotlight its splendor (Figure 6-38).

Figure 6-37: Plains Desolation in *Hud* and *The Last Picture Show*

Figure 6-38: Plains Grandeur in *Dances with Wolves*

The mood of the plains is peculiar. Sherow (2007) points out that artistic portrayals of the grasslands have demonstrated ambivalence and there is a theme of this beyond the two films he addresses, *The Last Picture Show* and *Dances with Wolves*. *Giant* and *Hud* lament the replacement of longhorns with oil derricks. *Cheyenne Autumn* shows the longing a displaced people have for their homeland. And *Brokeback Mountain* bemoans a 'geography of desire' for forbidden, taboo relationships in the "hardscrabble towns of the northern plains" (Tuss, 2007, p. 243).

If the saguaro is the flora of the West, then the horse and cow represent the fauna. In the Best Picture film *Argo*, Alan Arkin's movie producer character Lester Siegel says "If it's got horses in it, it's a Western." That line is only 97% accurate because there are three Westerns in the filmography that don't contain horses: *Bad Day at Black Rock*, *The Last Picture Show*, and *Lone Star.* All the rest feature horses in some capacity, either as essential to life in the West or as dog food (*The Misfits*).

Cattle are not as common as horses, appearing in about a third of the filmography, but as Dagel (2004) writes "perhaps no other activity has so defined the character of the Great Plains in literature, movies, and the national psyche as cattle ranching" (p. 37). Throughout the West cattle

are the animals that dominate the landscape, although this is an image that is not confined just to the plains and the prairie. Jeff (James Stewart) and Ben (Walter Brennan) drive a herd of cattle all the way from Wyoming to Seattle and then from Skagway, Alaska up to Dawson, Canada in *The Far Country*. Longhorns may be the symbol of Western heritage (Burnett, 2009), but that isn't because they are pervasive. In fact, longhorns aren't as dominant in the filmography as some might expect, due in large part to their near extinction for the majority of the Western's golden era[78]. Only two films center on the cattle drive narrative, but cattle are an economic means that an audience will easily and willingly accept in the West, even in filming locations with desert-like conditions.

Horses and cattle plod all throughout the West, but one animal is relegated to the plains: the bison. Appearing across nine films, all the bison Westerns are set on the plains[79] and it is because of the ungulate that *Dances with Wolves* was filmed in South Dakota (Stokes, 2013). The production shifted from the Comanche and Southern Plains focus of Michael Blake's novel to the Lakota Sioux on the Northern Plains because, at the time, Roy Houck's Triple U Buffalo Ranch outside of Pierre, South Dakota contained the largest herd of bison (approximately 3,500 head) needed for the film's epic buffalo hunt (Lee, 2015). One image that does not accompany the bison is their famed hunt to extinction. The bison are not portrayed as an animal on the

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[78] The Criterion Collection edition of *Red River* states that 1,500 head of cattle were used in the film, but very few of them were longhorns because pure breeds were hard to find at the time. In fact, as late as 1964 there were only 1,500 purebred longhorns left in the world (Burnett, 2009). Odd, how the near extermination of the bison over a half century earlier could have been followed by the extinction of one of Texas' most iconic images that replaced them, though not through disease or hunting, but crossbreeding. Had they withered, what would the image of the longhorn be today?

[79] The nine Westerns featuring bison include *Dodge City*, *Union Pacific*, *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, *The Searchers*, *How the West Was Won*, *A Man Called Horse*, *Little Big Man*, *Dances with Wolves*, and *Dead Man*. In *Dead Man*, the bison scene occurs while William Blake (Johnny Depp) is riding a train on his way to Machine, a town I argue is in the Arizona Sonoran Desert but is not on the plains. Since Blake has yet to reach the town and he presumably is in transit from his hometown of Cleveland, it is likely that his experience watching men shoot bison from the train likely occurred on the plains.

decline, which is somewhat surprising given the Western's penchant for end-of-the-West, elegiac narratives (Wishart, 2004). Normally bison appear as nothing more than a stock image, a quick reminder of their presence in Western history that is debated (Flores, 1991) and much exaggerated in literature, and in this vein only the hunt in *Dances with Wolves* stands as an exception.

The last point to make about filming locations is their evolution. Over the first fifty years of the filmography California, Arizona, New Mexico, Mexico, and Utah all portrayed the plains, but in the last twenty the trend has shifted to Alberta, Canada. Alberta is now the go-to filming location for recent Great Plains-set Westerns that desire a verdant plains foreground against a mountainous backdrop (Figure 6-39)

Figure 6-39: Plains Foreground and Mountainous Background in *Open Range*

A similar shift has come to New Mexico, especially the Santa Fe area. *Pursued* is the first Western (in my list) filmed in the state but it wasn't until the mid-1980s that New Mexico started to take off as a viable filming location following *Silverado* and *Young Guns*. Tax credits is the reason for the spike in Hollywood's interest in both Alberta and New Mexico. It took the New Mexico governor signing a bill to begin an incentive program in 2003 before the state became a

major filming location hotbed (Berg, 2015), and since then the state has flourished. The last five Westerns (all produced since 2003), have filmed significant scenes in either the Alberta or Santa Fe areas. If filmmakers desire desert imagery and a 25% rebate on most state expenses (Berg, 2015), they can opt for New Mexico, but if they want a less arid landscape, then Alberta and its 29% rebate is the current choice (McCurdy, 2011).

Beyond tax credits and incentives, New Mexico also offers filmmakers, as it did artist Georgia O'Keeffe, some of the most famous light in the West. Writers have long proclaimed its golden brilliance. In northwestern New Mexico Jackson (1994) writes that "the light on the perpendicular, dark-red canyon walls is golden" (p. 16). Willa Cather conveys the spiritual power of a golden New Mexico sunset in *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927) this way:

> "Gold-coloured men in white burnouses came out on the stairlike flights of roofs, and stood still as statues, apparently watching the changing light on the mountain. There was a religious silence over the place; no sound at all but the bleating of goats coming home through clouds of golden dust" (p. 172).

The golden light exudes an ethereal quality that others have noticed. Leviton (2009) documents 111 numinous Santa Fe locations or 'Light temples' that contain what he calls 'Santa Fe Light.' And Hall (2007) describes what it is like when the sun reveals itself:

> "Heavy clouds to the west threatened rain, leaving me surrounded by the kind of dull unpicturesque landscape that fills space … Unexpectedly the heavy cloud cover broke; dazzling light raked the earth and left it glowing … Until the light hit, the landscape was simply one dark amorphous form brooding against a dark sky. With light, the entire terrain … seemed suddenly blessed." (p. 24)

These types of descriptions illustrate how the light of New Mexico offers filmmakers the desired 'magic hour' shooting. This type of cinematography, best illustrated in Figure 6-40, involves filming just after dawn and right before dusk to find extremely captivating bursts of color (Evans, 2006). While 'magic hour' is typically a very short period of time, New Mexico light brings alive the colorful palate of landscapes, rocks, and vegetation for more than just a few minutes each day (Figure 6-41) and is undoubtedly a reason why Santa Fe is one of the major art centers in the U.S. (Mather & Thompson, 1995).

Figure 6-40: Magic Hour in *Dances with Wolves* (Filmed in South Dakota)

Figure 6-41: Magic Hour in *Silverado* (Filmed in New Mexico)

As long as the tax credit programs continue and the exchange rate of Canada's dollar stays favorable, then it appears future Western filming locations and place images will focus on New Mexico and Alberta landscapes as past locations continue to fall out of favor. Mexico has been absent since *Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* in 1973. Three fourths of California's filming locations appear in the first half of the filmography and the devastating fire at Old Tucson in April 1995 has curtailed filming there ever since. Lukinbeal (2006) points out that all filming location decisions revolve around two key issues: economics and geographic realism, but finances is the main reason, in part because it allows for 'doubling'[80] (Lukinbeal & Zimmermann, 2006). I argue this will continue to lead the genre to a decrease in the use of iconic landscapes like Monument Valley and the Alabama Hills, and an increase in distinctive but less memorable landscapes.

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[80] 'Doubling' is a film production practice whereby filmmakers use one location to 'double,' or stand in for, another location. This allows productions to save money and protect the cast and crew from potentially dangerous situations and environments (Lukinbeal & Zimmermann, 2006).

Chapter 7 - Geography of Westerns

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                    FARDAN
So what else is on your mind besides
100-proof women, 90-proof whiskey, and
14-carat gold?

                    DOLWORTH
Amigo ... you just wrote my epitaph.
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-Screenplay to *The Professionals*

Writers have long proclaimed the Western's demise (Maslin, 1998; Berg, 2000; Hoppenstand, 2004), but in reality it has reflected more of the boom and bust cycle of so many mining operations in the West in that there are periods of extreme or moderate popularity followed by leaner times but not death. The Western will always exist, but the art form will never again achieve the lofty position it held during the golden era (1950s through the mid-1970s). For place images to form, though, the genre does not have to be popular, just present, and its presence since 1939 has provided numerous images that are discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter discusses the geography of the Western (a film's spatial settings, temporal settings, and filming locations) through five concluding insights.

The Quintessential Western

Analyzing and mapping the geography of the Western has produced some obvious groupings of spatial settings (Apachería, the Borderlands, and the High Plains) and filming locations (Monument Valley, the Alabama Hills, Los Angeles, Old Tucson, and Santa Fe) in addition to the occasional isolated spot (Mount Hood in *Bend of the River* or the Grand Tetons in *Shane*). But what is the quintessential Western, the most perfect film that represents all of the

American West? Others have responded to this question before[81] and I answer it not by positing one film but by identifying the quintessential settings and filming locations. *The quintessential Western is spatially set in southeast Arizona in the 1880s and is filmed in Monument Valley*. Based upon these three data points, John Ford's *My Darling Clementine* and *Fort Apache* are examples. Set in Apachería (as *Fort Apache* is), the Western transpires during the final days of the Apache and United States Army conflict, and it was filmed in Monument Valley, though there may be Borderland references and images.

The Navajo christened Monument Valley "the land that God hid" (Cooper & Ford, 2006), but it is very much a visible part of the Western landscape, and it is routinely touted as *the* iconic landscape of the West (Frost & Laing, 2015) and the quintessential filming location (Hausladen, 2003; Lewis, 2004). The core of any film genre involves mythic structures (Solomon, 1976) and Monument Valley fits the bill here as the most mythic space in Western cinema that has gained larger-than-life meaning. Though this may seem an odd and old choice for the quintessential filming location considering that no entry in the filmography has shot in Monument Valley since *Once Upon a Time in the West* in the late 1960s, which was itself an homage to Ford's oeuvre (Frost & Laing, 2015), I consider the broad impact of this location. More Westerns were filmed in other locations, but none crystallized the landscape of the Western as strongly as Monument Valley. As Engel (1994) writes, it is "so well known by readers or viewers of the Western that it

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[81] Here is a non-exhaustive listing of arguments for certain quintessential Western components:

Novel = Owen Wister's *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains* (Hoffmann, 2012)
Film = *Shane* (Saunders, 2001; Hoffmann, 2003)
Actor = John Wayne (McMahan & Csaki, 2010), Randolph Scott (Rowan, 2013)
Hero = Wyatt Earp (Thomsen, 2012)
Cinematic Hero = Shane in *Shane* (Matheson, 2013)

Dan Flores (2001) writes that "the Rocky Mountain West might be said to constitute the most 'Western' part of the West" (p. 146) and that his quintessential West is a Rocky Mountain valley in Montana.

needs only 'a few simple clues' or signifiers to suggest both its real identity and its symbolic meaning" (p. 174) and it stands for the Western. Flores (2001) claims "our newly acquired tastes for deserts and canyons emerged midway through the twentieth century" (p. 122). If this is true, I argue that Monument Valley (and Westerns shot in arid locations) was a contributing reason. But nothing convinced me more of Monument Valley's image-making superiority than when I came across the DVDs for three Westerns that have Monument Valley emblazoned on the front cover and on the disc (Figure 7-1).

Figure 7-1: Monument Valley Imagery in DVD releases

Monument Valley features prominently on the packaging and this is significant because *none* of these Westerns were filmed there. In essence, the marketers are lying, purporting that these films contain something they do not, perhaps so that unfamiliar audiences will see the Mittens Buttes and immediately think 'Western.' But they are also hoping that a single image of 'John Ford Country' (Bogdanovich, 1968) will imbue the film with a sense of the Western's mythic past. No other Western filming location is utilized in such a way, which I argue helps solidify Monument Valley as the most mythic and iconic image of the West and the quintessential Western filming location.

Monument Valley is the quintessential filming location but it is far from the only filming location of note. In fact, there are many noteworthy locations that are somewhat redolent of the Grand Circle Tour of National Parks that runs through the Southwest[82]. The most significant filming locations that comprise a 'Grand Circle of the Western' include the Alabama Hills and the greater Owens Valley in California, Valley of Fire State Park in Nevada, Sedona along with Old Tucson Studios and greater southeastern Arizona, the Santa Fe area in New Mexico, and finishing up in Utah with Moab and the crown jewel, Monument Valley. These and other filming locations could and / or already do serve as major tourist destinations, proof that representational discourses like film have material effects in everyday life (England, 2004).

The Western's Core, Domain, and Sphere

Another way of discussing the geography of the Western is to mirror Meinig's (1965) Mormon culture region analysis and identify the cinematic core, domain, and sphere of the Western (Figure 7-2).

The Western Core

Meinig defines the core as "a centralized zone of concentration, displaying the greatest density of occupance, intensity of organization, strength, and homogeneity of the particular features characteristic of the culture under study" (p. 213). The core, similar to the Inland (Nostrand, 1992) or homeland (Nostrand & Estaville, 2001), of the Western lives in southeastern Arizona though this place only partially represents the quintessential Western. Home to Old Tucson Studios, Tombstone, and Apachería, this is the core of the Western because of the

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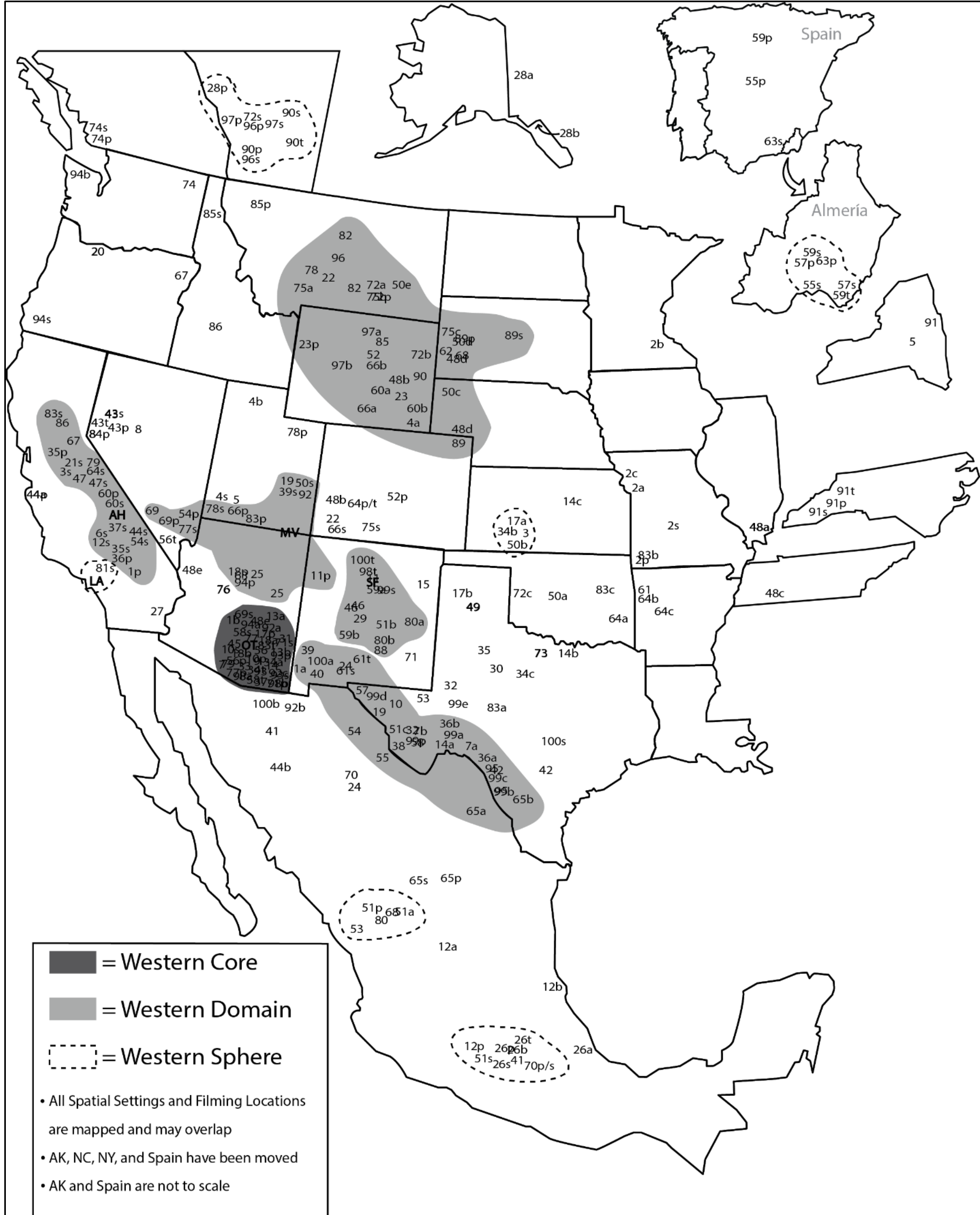
[82] According to the Utah Travel Industry website (http://utah.com/itinerary/grand-circle-tour), the Grand Circle Tour itinerary consists of visits to Zion National Park, Bryce Canyon National Park, Capitol Reef National Park, the Moab area, Monument Valley, Lake Powell, Kanab, and the North Rim of the Grand Canyon.

overlap of the main spatial setting node as well as the Old Tucson filming location grouping. No other place in the West showcases this kind of spatial setting and filming location coincidence.

Figure 7-2: Western Core, Domain, and Sphere



Moreover, this is also the temporal setting core as well. Notice that among all the spatial settings scrunched into the southeast corner of Arizona in Figure 5-2 that only one (*3:10 to Yuma*) does not transpire during the 1870s-1880s temporal hub.

Core Westerns, those filmed and set in the region during the 1870s-1880s, include vital place images of people like the Apaches in *Ulzana's Raid*, and the Wyatt Earp-focused *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* and *Tombstone*, both of which demonstrate his significance to the genre. The core is also home to the saguaro as well as mountainous and Sonoran Desert and Chihuahuan Desert landscapes, and its presence extends throughout the entire filmography, meaning that filmmakers have always considered southeastern Arizona a part of the Western and that trend continues to the present.

The Western Domain

"The domain refers to those areas in which the particular culture under study is dominant, but with markedly less intensity and complexity of development than in the core … and where regional peculiarities are clearly evident" (Meinig, 1965, p. 215). The Western's core is undoubtedly comprised of the greatest concentration of both spatial settings and filming locations, but as Meinig writes, regional peculiarities also stand out from the results and they represent the domain of the Western. Here either a grouping of spatial settings or filming locations may dominate and there are five expanses that encompass the Western domain: the Borderlands, the High Plains, the Sierra Nevada, Slickrock Country, and Central New Mexico.

The Borderlands

Spanning both sides of the U.S.-Mexico Border from the secondary spatial setting for *The Wild Bunch* (65b) up the Rio Grande and over to Lordsburg, New Mexico for *Stagecoach* (1a) is the Borderlands domain. This area is one of the three most significant spatial setting clusters but

it is relatively devoid of filming locations (five). One explanation for this might be financial concerns, but another is that the region may not 'look' like the West any more due to its rapid demographic and economic growth since 1950 (Anderson & Gerber, 2008), something *Lone Star* utilized to its advantage by filming in Eagle Pass, Texas. The Borderlands domain is rife with dangerous adventures, simplistic and stereotypical portrayals of a culturally diverse landscape, economic opportunities, chances for refuge and renewal, and *The Wild Bunch* is a popular archetype for this domain, meaning that it is a well-known Western that exemplifies place images of the Borderlands.

These images contribute to making Mexico the most sharply defined spatial setting in the Western. Mexico's filming locations do not build audience place images of the country nearly to the extent that its spatial settings do, in part because it is easy for audiences to be unaware that the landscapes they are seeing were filmed in Mexico. And it may seem odd that a scant eleven films set south of the border could muster such a profound impact, but no other spatial setting in the Western is so clearly defined for the audience and this is aided by Hollywood's traditionally stark delineation between life on the U.S. and the Mexico sides of the border. Filmmakers go to great lengths to make sure viewers know when the plot is in Mexico and they establish this mainly through conspicuous images of the citizenry, religious iconography, and social upheaval. In fact, while U.S. Westerns occasionally will reference the Civil War, according to Hollywood it seems like Mexico is mired in a perpetual state of civil war, in both the 1860s and the early twentieth century. Three Westerns are temporally set during each of these time periods, the latter of which furthers the argument that the Wild West lived well past the closing of the frontier and can still be found today. Hollywood has a penchant for producing Westerns with ambiguous settings, but not in Mexico. All five of the Westerns whose spatial settings I couldn't map are in

the U.S.; none are in Mexico. Moreover, not one of the eleven Mexico-set Westerns has a 'circa' temporal setting.

Mexico's importance to this sphere is considerable, but surprisingly the Mexican American cultural capital of San Antonio (Arreola, 1994) and the famed Battle of the Alamo is not. Despite this, many of the Borderland settings involve Texas and I argue it is because the Lone Star state contains eclectic narrative regions, a reflection of Texans having several perceptions of themselves (De León, 1997). Six of the eight Comanche Westerns were released on or before 1960 and over the last sixty entries in the filmography Texas has diversified in Westerns. The Trans-Pecos region, urban settings, the cattle versus oil duality of West Texas, and the focus of the Borderlands offer a narrative versatility that even the Western core cannot match.

The High Plains

Like the Borderlands, the High Plains is a substantial spatial setting group that also has sparse filming location representation. Two of the films set and filmed on the High Plains speak to the importance of American Indians to the domain. The Cheyenne (*Little Big Man*) and Sioux (*Dances with Wolves*) represent the cinematic Plains Indians, with the latter serving as the archetypal film of this domain, based on its strong Sioux portrayal, its spatial setting, and filming location depiction of the High Plains.

Located mostly in the Northern Plains, this domain dips into the Rocky Mountains to include the Grand Teton National Park famously seen in *Shane*. The inclusion of the Rockies is warranted given the importance of the plains-mountains landscape to the Western. *Will Penny* portrays both parts of this landscape, beginning on the plains with Charlton Heston's title character ending a cattle drive before moving up to the Flatiron ranch in the Rocky Mountains.

The Sierra Nevada

The inverse of the spatially rich Borderlands and High Plains is the Sierra Nevada of California. Due in large part to its geographic proximity to Los Angeles, this stretch is dominated by filming locations that extends from the Lucerne Dry Lake near Victorville, used for the climactic stagecoach and Apache showdown in *Stagecoach* (1p), up through Oroville that stood in for southern Missouri and the Indian Nations scenes in *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (83s).

The name of this domain references the most prominent physical landscape in the area, but not all the locations were perched up in the Sierra Nevada. Death Valley National Park depicts Mexico in both *One-Eyed Jacks* and *The Professionals* and a trio of films utilized the grasslands of the Central Valley to denote the plains of the frontier (*High Noon* – 21s), Kansas (*Dodge City* – 3s), and Texas (*The Big Country* – 35p). This speaks to California's landscape versatility, which has been touted all the way back to the 1920s (Figure 7-3), that the state can easily accommodate filmmakers and provide mountains, plains, and deserts, all within a relatively short distance from Hollywood.

Figure 7-3: 1927 Paramount Studio Map of Filming Location Images (Lukinbeal, 1998)

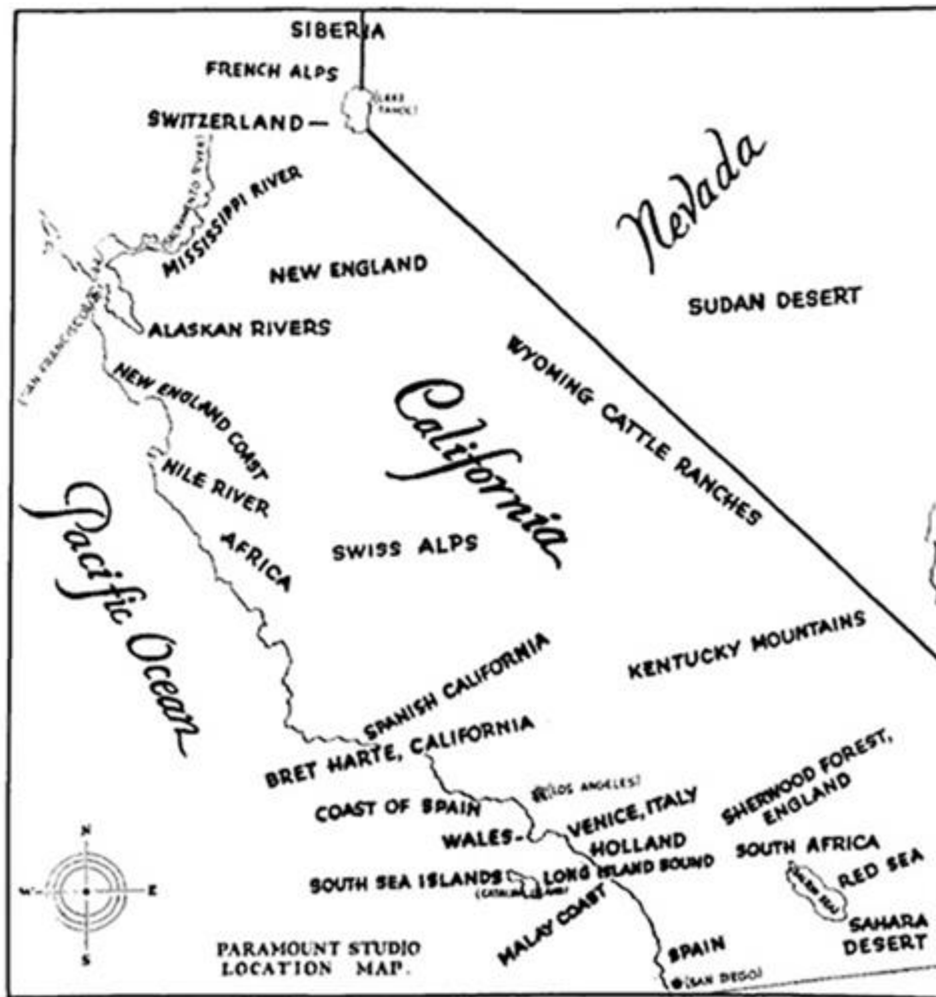


Figure 7-3 also shows how California has changed as a filming location in the past ninety years before the proliferation of the sound 'A' and 'B' Westerns of the 1930s and beyond. There is only one reference to a Western landscape, the "Wyoming Cattle Ranches" on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada. Many films made before the 1930s are no longer in existence because the film stock has deteriorated, which is why only about 15% of John Ford's silent era films have survived through the years (King, 2010). So there is little chance of knowing and verifying where all the early Wyoming cattle ranch Westerns were made, but given Paramount's placement of this 'Wyoming' representation, the mountains and plains (along with rocks,

canyons, and desert) were iconic images of the Western long before Ford's *Stagecoach* burst across the Lucerne Dry Lake in the late 1930s (Slatta, 2001; Gaberscek, 2006a).

The capital of this domain is the Alabama Hills, where all four of Budd Boetticher's entries in the filmography were filmed (making them the archetype for this domain). The Alabama Hills, with Mount Whitney as a backdrop to the striking rock formations in an arid setting, served as the filming location for seven Westerns. This places it alongside Monument Valley as one of the two most recognizable 'special places' in the Western (Hausladen, 2003). While almost as identifiable, I argue that the Alabama Hills is not quite the mythological equal of the next domain: Monument Valley.

Slickrock Country

Monument Valley is the quintessential filming location, yet I designate it as part of the Slickrock Country[83] domain and not the core because it and southern Utah are completely bereft of spatial settings, again, likely because Hollywood felt Mormonism had been thoroughly mined by the works of Zane Grey (Blake, 1995). Despite this, there is no denying that Monument Valley and the national parks of southern Utah hold sway over filmmakers, in part because these locations stand in for so many different places in the West. Monument Valley represents Arizona, the Southern Plains, Texas, and most of the Cheyenne Autumn Trail from Oklahoma to Montana while its cousin (Professor Valley and other locations in the Moab area) stands in for Arizona, Texas, Mexico, the New Mexican Desert Borderlands and some of the Cheyenne Autumn Trail.

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[83] Slickrock Country, otherwise known as the Colorado Plateau, owes its name to the Edward Abbey and Philip Hyde Sierra Club publication *Slickrock: The Canyon Country of Southeast Utah* (1971).

This domain is comprised of Monument Valley, the four films shot around Moab, and then the primary filming locations for *Butch Cassidy and Sundance Kid* (66p) and *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (83p). I exclude the other three southwestern Utah filming locations because they portray images more concerned with the plains (*Union Pacific* – 4s) or the forested mountains of New York (*Drums Along the Mohawk* – 5) and Montana (*Jeremiah Johnson* – 78s) as opposed to the aridity and unique rock formations of Slickrock Country.

The archetypal film for this domain is *The Searchers*, the top Western (American Film Institute, 2008) and 12th greatest American film of all time (American Film Institute, 2007). Almost all of the exterior scenes were shot in Monument Valley and according to Frost and Laing (2015), "*The Searchers* remains the best and longest use of this location in any film" (p. 19).

Central New Mexico

The final domain to discuss is the most recent to develop, Central New Mexico. With the Borderlands to the south, this domain contains a good mixture of spatial settings and filming locations with the spatial settings primarily in the central part of the state and the filming locations grouped around Santa Fe, which is undoubtedly the capital of this domain and recently emerged as a major television and movie filming location hub to take advantage of the area's aridity, plains, three Western towns[84], the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and its unique lighting opportunities.

Surprisingly, despite Apachería covering a sizeable portion of New Mexico, Indians are absent save for the Pueblo in *The Man from Laramie*. Instead, Billy the Kid narratives dominate,

[84] The three Western town filming locations, all located around Santa Fe, are (1) the Cook Ranch / Cerro Pelon Ranch near Galisteo; (2) Bonanza Creek Ranch, and (3) the Eaves Movie Ranch (Berg, 2015).

establishing central New Mexico as the spatial setting focus of this domain (80a, 80b, 88). *Young Guns* is the archetypal Western based on both the strong Lincoln spatial setting and Santa Fe filming location as well as the historical connection of William Bonney to the Land of Enchantment.

The Western Sphere

The sphere is "the zone of outer influence and, often peripheral acculturation, wherein that culture is represented only by certain of its elements or where its peoples reside as minorities" (Meinig, 1965, p. 216). Meinig goes on to say that defining the sphere may be difficult because of the fine gradations of cultural differences. While the sphere is akin to Nostrand's (1992) 'Outland,' for this research the sphere more closely resembles Zelinsky's (1992) eight population nodes of the West that are separated by large expanses of uninhabited deserts and mountains. The Western sphere is similar to this, and operates more as mini-clusters, pockets of settings or filming locations that appear more than two or three times and these small nodes are often located more on the periphery of the cinematic West.

Los Angeles Area

It is bizarre to think of Hollywood as a peripheral part of the West given its extensive history with the genre, but I argue that is the case. Aside from the climax of *Blazing Saddles* that features the Los Angeles cityscape, the monotonous studio sets and backlots serve only as a convenient urban backdrop to the plot. So despite appearing across 27 films, Los Angeles locations are fabrications of space that do not approach or achieve the place-making myths of a Monument Valley or the Alabama Hills, though *Blazing Saddles'* use of Vasquez Rocks provides some variation to this otherwise monochromatic sphere.

A large number of Westerns vie for the urban archetype, but *Support Your Local Sheriff!* is unique in that it is the only Western in the filmography that I do not recognize as having an on-location filming location. Almost 85% of the film is shot on a studio set or a backlot and the other 14 minutes I do not feel made enough of an impact to warrant an on-location mention. This is what separates television from film as a medium capable of producing place images. If productions never left the confines of the studio set and backlot system they wouldn't be any different than a television Western like *Gunsmoke*, which forsakes realism for financial convenience, and explains why the Dodge City vicinity of the longest running television Western of all time looks like the hilly oak woodlands of Corriganville, California.

Mexico: Mexico City and Durango

Mexico City is one of the most populous places on Earth, so in addition to being located deep in Mexico the city wouldn't figure to be a player in Western cinema, but it is with five films having been shot in and around the capital. As the only Western in the filmography that is spatially set in Mexico City (along with being the southern-most spatial setting), *Vera Cruz* is the archetypal film of this sphere because it also was filmed at famous locations like Chapultepec Castle and nearby Teotihuacán. The other Westerns went outside the city in search of mountainous terrain (*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* – 12p), cactus images (*Two Mules for Sister Sara* – 70p/s), and to erect sets that clearly evoke popular images American audiences associate with a Mexican village (*The Magnificent Seven* – 41).

The Mexico City filming locations all portray the country, but the Durango sphere is nearly the complete opposite. Three of its four filming locations represent the U.S. in film, specifically Texas (*The Sons of Katie Elder* – 53), New Mexico (*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* – 80), and, amazingly enough, South Dakota (*A Man Called Horse* – 68) where apparently

Durango can duplicate the Black Hills (Higgins & Higgins, 1970). I deem *A Man Called Horse* the archetypal film of the sphere since it spotlights the Durango landscapes more than the urban settings of *Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid*. So aside from the geographic separation of these two Western spheres, they are also characteristically different. When filmmakers went looking in Mexico for images of the United States, they apparently went to Durango, and if they wanted to portray Mexico they stayed south of the capital.

Dodge City

Unlike Mexico City and Durango, Dodge City enters the Western sphere solely as a spatial setting. The town is linked to two things: violence and Wyatt Earp. Like Billy the Kid and New Mexico, Earp is linked to the southeastern Arizona core and to Dodge City where he appears in *The Gunfight at the O.K. Corral*, in an odd cameo in *Cheyenne Autumn*, and through allegory in *Dodge City*. With the interesting exception of *Winchester '73*, Dodge City is portrayed as a rough and tumble cow town that desperately needs law and order, and it represents the single greatest link Kansas has to the Western. *Dodge City* is the only film that spends any significant screen time depicting the city, which makes it the archetypal film of the sphere.

Almería, Spain

Despite being on another continent, and thanks primarily to the Spaghetti Westerns of Sergio Leone, Almería, Spain is part of the Western sphere. Used in all four of Leone's entries in the filmography, his vision of the West is about the Desert Southwest, and he spreads it from Mexico (*Fistful of Dollars*) to Texas (*For a Few Dollars More*) and then heads west through New Mexico (*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*) before settling in Arizona (*Once Upon a Time in the West*). Either of the last two films could serve as the archetype of this sphere since they show a variety of landscapes in Europe's only desert.

Alberta, Canada

Mirroring Santa Fe's emergence as a filming location center, Alberta, Canada has lately become an active player in Westerns filmed in the great outdoors. Providing images of lush mountains, sweeping plains, and verdant grasslands, Alberta started out as the understudy for Alaska in *The Far Country* but more recently the sphere has shifted south to mostly stand in for the northern plains and the Bighorn Mountains (*Brokeback Mountain* – 97p). *Unforgiven* is the archetypal film here because the highly acclaimed Best Picture showcases the filming location versatility (three eclectic locations) of the greater Alberta area.

Alberta's relatively recent rise is in direct contrast to most of the spheres that have been significant enough to justify mention here but have otherwise been absent from Western film for decades. For example, the 1970s was the last time the Western visited the Los Angeles area or either Mexico sphere, and it has been the 1960s since Almería and Dodge City have shown up on screen. Future Northern Plains-set Westerns would likely take advantage of Alberta's movie infrastructure and if this trend does continue then over time it may shift from a sphere to a Western domain.

Alberta extends the geography of the Western into Canada which, along with Mexico, makes the Western much more than an American creation. When people say the American West, they should add a 'North' to the front of it and know that it includes the United States along with Mexico, Canada, and even Spain.

Finally, it is peculiar how little of the cinematic core, domain, and sphere of the Western corresponds with Zelinsky's (1992) claim that the cultural identity of the West can primarily be found in four sub-regions: the upper Rio Grande, Mormon region, Southern California, and Central California. I am intrigued that only the Santa Fe domain and Los Angeles sphere matches

up with Zelinsky's and Meinig's (1972) West, even though he points out that "the concept of the 'American West' is strong in the popular imagination and is constantly reinforced by the romanticized images of the cowboy genre" (p. 129). This research demonstrates the versatility and complexity of the West while also building on Zelinsky and Meinig by showing how myth is perpetuated spatially.

Indians in the Western

In 1965 John C. Ewers proclaimed the Plains Indian as the symbol of the North American Indian, but this research instead suggests the Apache as the unquestioned cinematic American Indian. The Apache appear in twice as many Westerns as the second place Comanche (16 to 8), they are a monumental reason why the Western core is in southeastern Arizona, and their depictions across the filmography have far surpassed and, in my opinion, have replaced the Sioux eagle-feather headdress as the symbol of 'Indianness' (Gibbon, 2003).

Despite this, the American Indian's place in the Western is changing. Until *Broken Arrow* in 1950 (entry number eighteen), Indians received little to no screen time except to establish each nation as the vicious savage or ignoble stereotype that has existed since the mid-eighteenth century (Adare, 2005). With *Broken Arrow* the genre produced its first attempt to portray the Apache (and Cochise) in more sympathetic terms, but the depiction just shifted the stereotype to the other end of the spectrum, to the noble Indian (Manchel, 1998). Twenty years later, *Little Big Man* picaresquely pushed the noble Indian stereotype forward (Schudel, 2014) along with Indians as the victims of U.S. Army aggression (Kasdan & Tavernetti, 1998) and two decades after that it was fully cemented as the politically correct portrayal with the critical and commercial success of *Dances with Wolves* and its romanticized concept of 'going Indian' (Baird, 1998).

All three films exhibit similarities that define the noble cinematic Indian. Actors playing Indian characters garnered (but lost) supporting actor Academy Award nominations in all three films,[85] a testament to these Westerns seemingly unique interpretation of Indian characters, but they just swing the pendulum from the savage to the noble side of the stereotype. All three films utilize a white protagonist who adopts Indian values and beliefs, but through this the Apache, Cheyenne, and Sioux, respectively, remain one dimensional. In *Dances with Wolves* the Sioux embody the noble stereotype of "tipi-dwelling, buffalo-hunting, eco-warriors living in peace and harmony with the land" (Rose, 2013) and their bitter enemy Pawnee exemplify savages who 'come for blood.'

In the last two decades of the filmography, following *Geronimo: An American Legend*, filmmakers trend away from serious depictions of Indians and from Indians all together. The racist, inaccurate, and shallow ignoble Indian stereotype is belligerent, but the noble stereotype has become so commonplace that if Indians cannot be viewed as traditional villains, then they are excluded almost entirely. American Indians are a people without a role in recent Hollywood Westerns, as the genre continues to figure out where (and apparently if) they fit. *Open Range*, *3:10 to Yuma*, and *Appaloosa* are traditional Westerns in the sense that they utilize a number of tropes that have existed for decades (Turan, 2007). Looking to reinvigorate the classic entries in the genre, these films ride away from developing Indians and show the difficulty of using them in the twenty-first century as villains. They are absent entirely from *Open Range*. In *3:10 to Yuma* the Apache's plight is logically and almost sympathetically explained in a few sentences,

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[85] Jeff Chandler was nominated for playing Apache leader Cochise in *Broken Arrow*. Chief Dan George was nominated for playing Cheyenne leader Old Lodge Skins in *Little Big Man*. Graham Green was nominated for playing Sioux medicine man Kicking Bird in *Dances with Wolves*.

but even when they do attack the deputized lawmen trying to deliver outlaw Ben Wade to Contention, Arizona, they are nothing more than faceless complications, and a similar argument can be made for their depiction in *Appaloosa*. With one stereotype rendered unusable and the other inert, the days of the Indian-as-obstacle formula (Aleiss, 2005) is clearly diminished and most likely over. Indians are fading from Western pictures and will continue to do so, perhaps until Hollywood finds a profitable way to tell more complex and realistic Westerns that empower Indian filmmakers (Kilpatrick, 1999).

Incongruity of Spatial Settings and Filming Locations

The Western core largely exists because it is the only location in the West where a sizeable number of spatial settings and filming locations coincide, but for the most part these two geographic data points diverge[86]. Film geographers refer to this as the 'reel vs real' binary that hails from the crisis of representation and the decision to portray a place as accurately as possible, or not (Lukinbeal & Zimmermann, 2006). In cinematic terms, this means that it is rare for a Western to be filmed where it takes place or where the plot is spatially set. I call this a 'geographic incongruity,' similar to Lefebvre's (2006) 'incoherencies,' and it occurs in 93% of the filmography. Conversely, only seven Westerns are geographic congruities[87], narratives that are set precisely where they were filmed. The first Western to buck the incongruous trend didn't occur until twenty films in with *Bend of the River*. From the opening shot to the closing image,

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[86] Studies of the Western diverge as well. My findings are similar to Mauduy and Henriet's (1989) that show few settings and locations in the Pacific Northwest and a strong concentration of spatial settings in the Southwest and the High Plains along with a filming location focus in Arizona and Utah. Our differences appear when it comes to the spatial settings of California, Colorado, and Mexico. California may be a filming location hub but it is bereft of spatial settings and aside from the Sierra Nevada it is excluded from the cinematic West. Colorado is also a surprising spatial non-factor although Mexico plays a much stronger role in my filmography.

[87] The seven geographically congruent Westerns are *Bend of the River*, *The Misfits*, *Lonely are the Brave*, *Hud*, *The Last Picture Show*, *Junior Bonner*, and *The Shootist*.

Anthony Mann seemingly takes every opportunity to frame Mount Hood on the screen (Figure 7-4) and this adds to the realism of the viewing experience, assuming the viewer is familiar with Mount Hood, because it shows location fidelity, that the production didn't simply splice together images of multiple locations, which may or may not appear seamless, and which are unlikely to construct a strong sense of place.

Figure 7-4: Mount Hood in *Bend of the River's* Opening and Closing Shots

"The most popular images in the world are no longer traced back to paintings or photographs. Instead, they come from successful movies" (Escher, 2006, p. 310). Hollywood's influence is enormous and it routinely creates narratives that are geographic incongruities. Whether in television or movies and in Westerns or the urban-set film noir genre, it is rare that feature films have matching spatial settings and filming locations. This can foster inaccurate place images where saguaros are linked to Texas and that the whole of the West looks just like Monument Valley, or audiences can misinterpret film images as having a point-to-point connection with reality, and it is this ability to misrepresent the world that is where film wields exceptional power and influence (Hopkins, 1994).

The Western has used landscapes for over a century to create and disseminate numerous frontier myths of nation building and American exceptionalism, and according to the results of

this research the West (through the spatial settings and filming locations) includes just under half the United States, including states east of the Mississippi River, which was not even an option in Nugent's (1992) survey of 'Where is the American West?'

The cinematic West is larger than most prognostications of the region and the geographic incongruities are one reason why, because they extend the West and tie it together (Blake, 1995). For instance, Texas is loaded with spatial settings but has few filming locations, meaning that other parts of the West represent the Lone Star state. Because of the plot audiences incorporate Texas into their mental map of the West and they include the filming location as well, which usually hails from another part of the region and therefore extends the span of the West. Just in my filmography Texas is portrayed by Arizona, New Mexico, California, Utah, Mexico, and Spain. These places augment the reach and the concept of the West, and they all tie together because they 'say Texas' to the viewer.

The incongruous relationship between spatial settings and filming locations speaks to the power of the West's place images and the complexity of the region. The West can be viewed in multiple ways and the incongruity addresses two specific views. First, the West can be argued to be more of an idea or concept than a place because of the incongruous findings. Nugent's (1992) compilation of the diverging opinions of where the American West is speaks to this notion that the region is more an idea than a place, for if it was a place then greater mapping agreement and uniformity would exist among scholars and writers. But secondly, is Milner's (1994) contention that "the American West is an idea that became a place" (p. 3). The West is a powerful place image that contains geographic ambiguity. Seeing images of American Indians, the Borderlands, the High Plains, cowboys, mountains, wide-open spaces, deserts, saguaros, rock formations, and aridity all conjure notions of the West because I argue they are the foundation that builds our

perceptions and ideas of the West. If the images are stripped away, then we base our perceptions of the region on an incongruent listing of places. The West is a mythic and complex idea because of its place imagery.

Boundaries of the Western

With the spatial settings and filming locations tying the West together and creating a core, domain, and sphere, it is only right to discuss the boundaries of the Western. Geographer John Wright (2014) proposes four symbolic boundaries to the American West[88] that adhere to cardinal directions. I argue that spatial settings inform the boundaries of the Western more so than the filming locations, which may or may not be known to the viewer. Moreover, these four boundaries include the Western core and all five domains, but exclude a few of the Western filming location-heavy spheres, simply because I am unwilling to make Almería, a place in Europe, the eastern boundary.

North = The Missouri Breaks of the Northern Plains

With no U.S. / Canada borderlands Westerns and only *The Far Country* as the lone Canada / Alaska representative, I place the northern boundary of the Western at the Missouri River Breaks of the Northern Plains. The Cascades do not factor into the boundary, nor do the northern Rocky Mountains. The true northern boundary is the Northern Plains, and since *The Missouri Breaks* is the northern-most Western of this region, it was selected as the boundary.

This boundary excludes the Alberta sphere, a filming location repository for the High Plains, because I am not convinced viewers are as familiar with this relatively new film hub as they are with more established and iconic filming locations. Also, Canada is only a setting for one Western, so it feels left out of the West to the point where including it in the boundary seems

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[88] Wright's four symbolic boundaries are: East = Aridity; South = Diversity; West = Growth; North = Wild Nature.

like a decision to include all of the West in its boundary without acknowledging and focusing on the most germane images of the region.

East = Indian Territory / Oklahoma

The eastern boundary of the West is one of the greatest debates in regional geography as well as among other scholars and writers, and in film it is not the 100th meridian or a major river but Indian Territory, what later became Oklahoma, where the government forcibly moved the Five Civilized Tribes. To be specific, Fort Smith, on the state line between Arkansas and Indian Territory, would be the eastern most point of the boundary, because it is the spatial setting of two Westerns (*Hang 'em High* and *True Grit*), but it is Indian Territory that really serves as the symbolic boundary. Only four Westerns have settings in Indian Territory but the area is referenced and passed through in a few others and viewers are made aware of its existence if it is in close proximity to the plot.

This boundary effectively excludes the Almería, Spain sphere and most of the Civil War from the West. The sun has set on the days of the Spaghetti Westerns, so there is little reason to believe Almería will reappear as a major filming location force. And the Civil War is essentially an eastern conflict in Westerns, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* notwithstanding. Moreover, the Adirondacks might have been the eastern boundary of the Western in the eighteenth century during the Revolutionary War, but for the nineteenth and twentieth century temporal settings identified here, the West begins with Indian Territory.

South = The Borderlands

The Borderlands is the obvious southern boundary of the Western, similar to Wright's symbolic southern border of Diversity, but it extends beyond the line separating the two countries to include both the Texas and the Mexico sides of the border. Racial diversity, typically

portrayed through simplistic stereotypes, is one aspect of the Borderlands, but economic opportunities, chances for refuge and renewal, and ever-present danger also buoy this region and make it the southern boundary of the Western.

As with the Alberta sphere and the northern boundary, using the Borderlands means excluding, though not discounting, the contributions to the Western from the Mexico City and Durango spheres. These filming location-heavy areas in Mexico developed via the amenities and proximity of those cities with the versatile surrounding landscapes, but these pockets of interest ultimately help inform and create the Borderlands unique place imagery, they don't supersede it.

West = Gold Mining in the Sierra Nevada

Finally, the western boundary is found high in the Sierra Nevada, where 'Gold Fever' is more than just a musical number in *Paint Your Wagon*. A meager three films (*Ride the High Country*, *Paint Your Wagon*, and *Pale Rider*) comprise the boundary, but their strong focus on mining for gold, whether through traditional or even hydraulic means (*Pale Rider*), references the historic California Gold Rush, the strike-it-rich aspirations that dot the Western, and Wright's 'growth' symbol. The boundary could be extended up the Cascade Mountains into the Northwest, but based upon this filmography and the general dearth of films set and filmed in Oregon and Washington, California and the Sierra Nevada alone constitute the western boundary.

One-Eyed Jacks qualifies as one of the most peculiar aberrations in the filmography. Mostly filmed and set in Monterrey, California, people who feel the West extends to the Pacific Ocean will no doubt base their argument on this Marlon Brando-helmed Western. The beautiful Big Sur landscape, however, has never felt so out of place in a film. The ocean scenes create a paradox for viewers educated on the genre's desert or arid landscapes.

But perhaps Brando was the bellwether of reinvention. In prognosticating the Western's future as a film genre, perhaps we should not look just at plot or character changes to spark a rejuvenation, but to place image variety. Zelinsky (1992) inquires, "does a genuine, single, grand Western culture region exist?" (p. 129). This research unabashedly says no, that the West isn't a 'problem' but perhaps the most versatile and complex of American regions. With iconic Western place images of rugged mountains, far-reaching grasslands and plains, impressive rock formations, scorching deserts, and towering saguaros, why shouldn't Hollywood branch out into new place image territory? Temporal explorations of the twentieth century began during the 1960s, what about the early nineteenth or twenty-first centuries? Urban-set Westerns gained steam throughout the filmography to complement the frontier paradigm. And since the West has islands of moisture (Vale, 1995), is it possible to create a coastal Western or one where water is plentiful? For the Western to continue its evolution, filmmakers should look beyond its 100-proof women, 90-proof whiskey, and 14-carat gold epitaph and focus on the West's remarkable place imagery.

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Appendix A - **Top-Grossing Westerns from 1930-1972 and Plot Classification (Wright, 1975)**

Year	***Film***	**Plot Classification**
1931	*Cimarron*	Classical Plot
1936	*The Plainsmen*	Classical Plot
1937	*Wells Fargo*	Classical Plot
1939	*Stagecoach*	Vengeance Variation
	Dodge City	Classical Plot
	Union Pacific	Classical Plot
	Destry Rides Again	Classical Plot
1940	*North West Mounted Police*	Classical Plot
1945	*Along Came Jones*	Classical Plot*
	San Antonio	Classical Plot
1946	*Canyon Passage*	Classical Plot
1947	*Duel in the Sun*	Classical Plot
	California	Classical Plot
1948	*Fort Apache*	Classical / Professional Plots
	Red River	Vengeance Variation
	Whispering Smith	Classical Plot
	Yellow Sky	Classical Plot
1949	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*	Classical / Professional Plots
1950	*Broken Arrow*	Transition Theme
	Colt .45	-
	Winchester '73	Vengeance Variation
1952	*Bend of the River*	Classical Plot
	High Noon	Transition Theme
1953	*The Charge at Feather River*	-
	Hondo	-
	The Naked Spur	Vengeance Variation
	Shane	Classical Plot
1954	*Apache*	Vengeance Variation
	Johnny Guitar	Transition Theme
	Saskatchewan / O'Rourke of the Royal Mounted	Classical Plot
	Vera Cruz	Classical Plot
1955	*The Far Country*	Classical Plot
	The Man from Laramie	Vengeance Variation
1956	*The Searchers*	Vengeance Variation
1957	*Gunfight at the OK Corral*	-
1959	*Rio Bravo*	Professional Plot
1960	*The Alamo*	Professional Plot
	North to Alaska	Professional Plot
1961	*One-Eyed Jacks*	Vengeance Variation
	The Comancheros	Professional Plot

Year	Film	Plot Classification
1963	*Four for Texas*	Professional Plot
	How the West Was Won	Classical Plot
1964	*Cheyenne Autumn*	-
1965	*Cat Ballou*	Classical Plot*
	Sons of Katie Elder	Professional Plot
1966	*Nevada Smith*	Vengeance Variation
	The Professionals	Professional Plot
	Texas Across the River	Classical Plot*
	The Good, the Bad and the Ugly	Professional Plot
1967	*The War Wagon*	Professional Plot
	Hombre	Classical Plot
	El Dorado	Professional Plot
1968	*Hang 'em High*	Vengeance Variation
1969	*The Wild Bunch*	Professional Plot
	True Grit	Professional Plot
	Support Your Local Sheriff!	Classical Plot*
	Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid	Professional Plot
1970	*Two Mules for Sister Sara*	Professional Plot
	Chisum	Professional & Classical Plots
	Cheyenne Social Club	Professional Plot*
	Rio Lobo	Professional Plot
1971	*Big Jake*	Professional Plot
	Little Big Man	-
1972	*The Cowboys*	Professional Plot

Source: Wright, W. (1975). *Six guns and society: A structural study of the Western* (pp. 30-32). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

* - denotes the film is a self-conscious parody of its respective plot.

Appendix B - **Western Writers of America – Top 100**

Westerns

#	*Western* (Release Year)	Not in the Filmography
1	*Shane* (1953)	
2	*High Noon* (1952)	
3	*The Searchers* (1956)	
4	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	
5	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
6	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	
7	*Red River* (1948)	
8	*Tombstone* (1993)	
9	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
10	*Open Range* (2003)	
11	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948)	
12	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1966)	
13	*True Grit* (1969)	
14	*The Shootist* (1976)	
15	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
16	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
17	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
18	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	
19	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
20	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	
21	*The Cowboys* (1972)	
22	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
23	*3:10 to Yuma* (2007)	
24	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	
25	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
26	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
27	*Lonely are the Brave* (1962)	
28	*Will Penny* (1968)	
29	*Hud* (1963)	
30	*Winchester '73* (1950)	
31	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
32	*3:10 to Yuma* (1957)	X
33	*The Grey Fox* (1982)	X
34	*The Alamo* (1960)	
35	*Silverado* (1985)	
36	*Ulzana's Raid* (1972)	
37	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969)	
38	*Rio Grande* (1950)	
39	*The Rounders* (1965)	X
40	*The Big Country* (1958)	

41	*The Hi-Lo Country* (1998)	X
42	*Duel in the Sun* (1946)	
43	*Fort Apache* (1948)	
44	*The Last of the Mohicans* (1992)	
45	*The Last Picture Show* (1971)	
46	*The Grapes of Wrath* (1940)	X
47	*Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955)	
48	*The Long Riders* (1980)	X
49	*The Tall T* (1957)	
50	*Cat Ballou* (1965)	
51	*Tumbleweeds* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
52	*The Iron Horse* (1924)	X (pre-1939)
53	*Man of the West* (1958)	
54	*Seven Men From Now* (1956)	
55	*The Big Trail* (1930)	X (pre-1939)
56	*3 Godfathers* (1948)	X
57	*Hell's Hinges* (1916)	X (pre-1939)
58	*The Wind* (1928)	X (pre-1939)
59	*The Westerner* (1940)	
60	*Support Your Local Sheriff!* (1969)	
61	*They Died with Their Boots On* (1941)	X
62	*Gunfight at the OK Corral* (1957)	
63	*The Professionals* (1966)	
64	*The Cheyenne Social Club* (1970)	X
65	*El Dorado* (1967)	
66	*Thunderheart* (1992)	X
67	*The Virginian* (1929)	X (pre-1939)
68	*A Man Called Horse* (1970)	
69	*Hombre* (1967)	
70	*Barbarosa* (1982)	X
71	*Chisum* (1970)	X
72	*The Big Sky* (1952)	X
73	*Young Guns* (1988)	
74	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
75	*Junior Bonner* (1972)	
76	*Angel and the Badman* (1947)	X
77	*Warlock* (1959)	
78	*The Misfits* (1961)	
79	*No Country for Old Men* (2007)	
80	*Monte Walsh* (1970)	
81	*Four Faces West* (1948)	X
82	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	
83	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	
84	*High Plains Drifter* (1973)	
85	*Devil's Doorway* (1950)	X
86	*Law and Order* (1932)	X (pre-1939)
87	*Coroner Creek* (1948)	X

88	*Valdez is Coming* (1971)	X
89	*Hondo* (1953)	
90	*The Man from Laramie* (1955)	
91	*The Unforgiven* (1960)	X
92	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	
93	*Bend of the River* (1952)	
94	*Giant* (1956)	
95	*Blazing Saddles* (1974)	
96	*The Culpepper Cattle Company* (1972)	X
97	*Three Bad Men* (1926)	X (pre-1939)
98	*Pursued* (1947)	
99	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	
100	*The Great Train Robbery* (1903)	X (pre-1939)
71 Westerns in the Filmography		
X = 20 Westerns Not in the Filmography		
X (pre-1939) = 9 Westerns Not Eligible to be in the Filmography Because They Predate 1939		

Appendix C - **AFI's 50 Greatest American Screen Legends**

Men		Women
1. Humphrey Bogart		1. Katharine Hepburn
2. Cary Grant		2. Bette Davis
3. James Stewart		3. Audrey Hepburn
4. Marlon Brando		4. Ingrid Bergman
5. Fred Astaire		5. Greta Garbo
6. Henry Fonda		6. Marilyn Monroe
7. Clark Gable		7. Elizabeth Taylor
8. James Cagney		8. Judy Garland
9. Spencer Tracy		9. Marlene Dietrich
10. Charlie Chaplin		10. Joan Crawford
11. Gary Cooper		11. Barbara Stanwyck
12. Gregory Peck		12. Claudette Colbert
13. John Wayne		13. Grace Kelly
14. Laurence Olivier		14. Ginger Rogers
15. Gene Kelly		15. Mae West
16. Orson Welles		16. Vivien Leigh
17. Kirk Douglas		17. Lillian Gish
18. James Dean		18. Shirley Temple
19. Burt Lancaster		19. Rita Hayworth
20. The Marx Brothers		20. Lauren Bacall
21. Buster Keaton		21. Sophia Loren
22. Sidney Poitier		22. Jean Harlow
23. Robert Mitchum		23. Carole Lombard
24. Edward G. Robinson		24. Mary Pickford
25. William Holden		25. Ava Gardner

Appendix D - **Acting Star Power**

#	Film	Stars
1	*Stagecoach* (1939)	John Wayne & *Thomas Mitchell*
2	*Jesse James* (1939)	Henry Fonda & Randolph Scott
3	*Dodge City* (1939)	Errol Flynn & Olivia de Havilland
4	*Union Pacific* (1939)	Joel McCrea, Barbara Stanwyck, & Robert Preston
5	*Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939)	Henry Fonda & Claudette Colbert
6	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	James Stewart & Marlene Dietrich
7	*The Westerner* (1940)	Gary Cooper & *Walter Brennan*
8	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	Henry Fonda
9	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	Henry Fonda & Walter Brennan
10	*Duel in the Sun* (1946)	Gregory Peck, Jennifer Jones, & Walter Huston
11	*Pursued* (1947)	Robert Mitchum & Teresa Wright
12	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948)	Humphrey Bogart & *Walter Huston*
13	*Fort Apache* (1948)	John Wayne, Henry Fonda, & Shirley Temple
14	*Red River* (1948)	John Wayne, Montgomery Clift, & Walter Brennan
15	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	John Wayne & Ben Johnson
16	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	Gregory Peck & Karl Malden
17	*Winchester '73* (1950)	James Stewart & Shelley Winters
18	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	James Stewart
19	*Rio Grande* (1950)	John Wayne & Maureen O'Hara
20	*Bend of the River* (1952)	James Stewart & Rock Hudson
21	*High Noon* (1952)	*Gary Cooper*, Grace Kelly, & Lloyd Bridges
22	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	James Stewart, Janet Leigh, & Robert Ryan
23	*Shane* (1953)	Alan Ladd, Jean Arthur, & Jack Palance
24	*Hondo* (1953)	John Wayne
25	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	Joan Crawford, Sterling Hayden, & Ernest Borgnine
26	*Vera Cruz* (1954)	Gary Cooper & Burt Lancaster
27	*Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955)	Spencer Tracy, Robert Ryan, Ernest Borgnine, Walter Brennan, & Lee Marvin
28	*The Far Country* (1955)	James Stewart, Walter Brennan, & Jack Elam
29	*The Man From Laramie* (1955)	James Stewart & Jack Elam
30	*The Searchers* (1956)	John Wayne
31	*Seven Men From Now* (1956)	Randolph Scott & Lee Marvin
32	*Giant* (1956)	Rock Hudson, Elizabeth Taylor, & James Dean
33	*The Tall T* (1957)	Randolph Scott & Richard Boone
34	*Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* (1957)	Burt Lancaster & Kirk Douglas
35	*The Big Country* (1958)	Gregory Peck, Charlton Heston, & *Burl Ives*
36	*Man of the West* (1958)	Gary Cooper & Lee J. Cobb
37	*Ride Lonesome* (1959)	Randolph Scott, Lee Van Cleef, James Coburn, & Pernell Roberts

38	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	John Wayne, Dean Martin, Angie Dickinson, Ricky Nelson, & Walter Brennan
39	*Warlock* (1959)	Richard Widmark, Henry Fonda, & Anthony Quinn
40	*Comanche Station* (1960)	Randolph Scott
41	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	Yul Brenner, Eli Wallach, Steve McQueen, Charles Bronson, & James Coburn
42	*The Alamo* (1960)	John Wayne & Richard Widmark
43	*The Misfits* (1961)	Clark Gable, Montgomery Clift, & Marilyn Monroe
44	*One-Eyed Jacks* (1961)	Marlon Brando & Karl Malden
45	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	John Wayne, James Stewart, & Lee Marvin
46	*Lonely are the Brave* (1962)	Kirk Douglas, Gina Rowlands, & Walter Matthau
47	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	Randolph Scott & Joel McCrea
48	*How the West was Won* (1963)	Debbie Reynolds, Carroll Baker, John Wayne, James Stewart, Henry Fonda, & Gregory Peck
49	*Hud* (1963)	Paul Newman, *Patricia Neal*, & *Melvyn Douglas*
50	*Cheyenne Autumn* (1964)	James Stewart, Karl Malden, Carroll Baker, & Edward G. Robinson
51	*Major Dundee* (1965)	Charlton Heston, Richard Harris, & James Coburn
52	*Cat Ballou* (1965)	Jane Fonda & *Lee Marvin*
53	*The Sons of Katie Elder* (1965)	John Wayne & Dean Martin
54	*The Professionals* (1966)	Burt Lancaster, Lee Marvin, Robert Ryan, Woody Strode, Jack Palance, & Claudia Cardinale
55	*Fistful of Dollars* (1967)	Clint Eastwood
56	*Hombre* (1967)	Paul Newman & Richard Boone
57	*For a Few Dollars More* (1967)	Clint Eastwood & Lee Van Cleef
58	*El Dorado* (1967)	John Wayne, Robert Mitchum, & James Caan
59	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1967)	Clint Eastwood, Lee Van Cleef, & Eli Wallach
60	*Will Penny* (1968)	Charlton Heston
61	*Hang 'em High* (1968)	Clint Eastwood, Inger Stevens, & Pat Hingle
62	*Support Your Local Sheriff!* (1969)	James Garner, Joan Hackett, & Walter Brennan
63	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969)	Claudia Cardinale, Henry Fonda, Jason Robards, & Charles Bronson
64	*True Grit* (1969)	*John Wayne* & Robert Duvall
65	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	William Holden, Ernest Borgnine, Robert Ryan, & Ben Johnson
66	*Butch Cassidy & the Sundance Kid* (1969)	Paul Newman, Robert Redford, & Katherine Ross
67	*Paint Your Wagon* (1969)	Lee Marvin, Clint Eastwood, & Jean Seberg
68	*A Man Called Horse* (1970)	Richard Harris
69	*The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970)	Jason Robards & Stella Stevens
70	*Two Mules for Sister Sara* (1970)	Clint Eastwood & Shirley MacLaine
71	*Monte Walsh* (1970)	Lee Marvin & Jack Palance
72	*Little Big Man* (1970)	Dustin Hoffman & Faye Dunaway

73	*The Last Picture Show* (1971)	Jeff Bridges, Cybill Shepard, *Ben Johnson*, & *Cloris Leachman*
74	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	Warren Beatty & Julie Christie
75	*The Cowboys* (1972)	John Wayne & Bruce Dern
76	*Junior Bonner* (1972)	Steve McQueen & Robert Preston
77	*Ulzana's Raid* (1972)	Burt Lancaster
78	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	Robert Redford
79	*High Plains Drifter* (1973)	Clint Eastwood
80	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* (1973)	James Coburn & Kris Kristofferson
81	*Blazing Saddles* (1974)	Cleavon Little, Gene Wilder, Madeline Kahn, & Mel Brooks
82	*The Missouri Breaks* (1976)	Marlon Brando & Jack Nicholson
83	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	Clint Eastwood, Sondra Locke, & John Vernon
84	*The Shootist* (1976)	John Wayne, James Stewart, Lauren Bacall, & Ron Howard
85	*Heaven's Gate* (1980)	Kris Kristofferson, Christopher Walken, John Hurt, Sam Waterson, & Jeff Bridges
86	*Pale Rider* (1985)	Clint Eastwood
87	*Silverado* (1985)	Kevin Kline, Scott Glenn, Kevin Costner, & Danny Glover
88	*Young Guns* (1988)	Emilio Estevez, Kiefer Sutherland, Charlie Sheen, Lou Diamond Phillips, & Jack Palance
89	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	Kevin Costner, Mary McDonnell, & Graham Greene
90	*Unforgiven* (1992)	Clint Eastwood, *Gene Hackman*, Morgan Freeman, & Richard Harris
91	*The Last of the Mohicans* (1992)	Daniel Day-Lewis & Madeleine Stowe
92	*Geronimo: An American Legend* (1993)	Wes Studi, Matt Damon, Jason Patric, Gene Hackman, & Robert Duvall
93	*Tombstone* (1993)	Kurt Russell, Val Kilmer, Dana Delany, Sam Elliott, & Bill Paxton
94	*Dead Man* (1996)	Johnny Depp
95	*Lone Star* (1996)	Chris Cooper, Matthew McConaughey, & Kris Kristofferson
96	*Open Range* (2003)	Kevin Costner, Robert Duvall, & Annette Bening
97	*Brokeback Mountain* (2005)	Heath Ledger, Jake Gyllenhaal, Michelle Williams, & Anne Hathaway
98	*3:10 to Yuma* (2007)	Russell Crowe & Christian Bale
99	*No Country for Old Men* (2007)	Tommy Lee Jones, *Javier Bardem*, Josh Brolin, & Woody Harrelson
100	*Appaloosa* (2008)	Ed Harris, Viggo Mortensen, Renee Zellweger, & Jeremy Irons
Italics denotes an Oscar-winning role		

Appendix E - **Chronological Listing of Major and Representative Western Films (Cawelti, 1999)**

#	*Western (*Release Year*)*	Not in the Filmography
1	*The Great Train Robbery* (1903)	**X** (pre-1939)
2	*Fighting Blood* (1911)	**X** (pre-1939)
3	*The Squaw Man* (1913)	**X** (pre-1939)
4	*The Spoilers* (1915)	**X** (pre-1939)
5	*Hell's Hinges* (1916)	**X** (pre-1939)
6	*The Outcasts of Poker Flat* (1919)	**X** (pre-1939)
7	*The Last of the Mohicans* (1920)	**X** (pre-1939)
8	*The Covered Wagon* (1923)	**X** (pre-1939)
9	*The Iron Horse* (1924)	**X** (pre-1939)
10	*Riders of the Purple Sage* (1925)	**X** (pre-1939)
11	*Tumbleweeds* (1925)	**X** (pre-1939)
12	*The Vanishing American* (1926)	**X** (pre-1939)
13	*The Virginian* (1929)	**X** (pre-1939)
14	*Billy the Kid* (1930)	**X** (pre-1939)
15	*Cimarron* (1931)	**X** (pre-1939)
16	*The Plainsman* (1936)	**X** (pre-1939)
17	*Wells Fargo* (1937)	**X** (pre-1939)
18	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
19	*Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939)	
20	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
21	*Union Pacific* (1939)	
22	*Jesse James* (1939)	
23	*Kit Carson* (1940)	**X**
24	*They Died with Their Boots On* (1941)	**X**
25	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
26	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
27	*Red River* (1948)	
28	*Fort Apache* (1948)	
29	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948)	
30	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
31	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	
32	*The Big Sky* (1952)	**X**
33	*High Noon* (1952)	**X**
34	*Hondo* (1953)	
35	*Shane* (1953)	
36	*The Searchers* (1956)	
37	*The Run of the Arrow* (1957)	**X**
38	*The Left Handed Gun* (1958)	**X**
39	*The Horse Soldiers* (1959)	**X**
40	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	

41	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
42	*One-Eyed Jacks* (1961)	
43	*The Misfits* (1961)	
44	*Lonely are the Brave* (1962)	
45	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
46	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
47	*How the West Was Won* (1963)	
48	*Hud* (1963)	
49	*Cheyenne Autumn* (1964)	
50	*Fistful of Dollars* (1964)	
51	*For a Few Dollars More* (1965)	
52	*The Sons of Katie Elder* (1965)	
53	*A Big Hand for the Little Lady* (1966)	X
54	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1966)	
55	*El Dorado* (1967)	
56	*Hang 'em High* (1968)	
57	*True Grit* (1969)	
58	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	
59	*The Battle of Cable Hogue* (1970)	
60	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
61	*A Man Called Horse* (1970)	
62	*Soldier Blue* (1970)	X
63	*Two Mules for Sister Sara* (1970)	
64	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	
65	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	
66	*Ulzana's Raid* (1972)	
67	*High Plains Drifter* (1973)	
68	*Rooster Cogburn* (1975)	X
69	*Buffalo Bill and the Indians: Or Sitting Bull's History Lesson* (1976)	X
70	*The Missouri Breaks* (1976)	
71	The Outlaw Josey Wales (1976)	
72	*The Shootist* (1976)	
73	*Heaven's Gate* (1980)	
74	*The Long Riders* (1980)	X
75	*The Legend of the Lone Ranger* (1981)	X
76	*The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982)	X
77	*The Shadow Riders* (1982) - TV Movie	X
78	*Draw!* (1984) - TV Movie	X
79	*Pale Rider* (1985)	
80	*Silverado* (1985)	
81	*¡Three Amigos!* (1986)	X
82	*Young Guns* (1988)	
83	The Heist (1989) - TV Movie	X
84	*Lonesome Dove* (1989) - TV Mini-Series	X
85	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
86	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
87	*Geronimo: An American Legend* (1993)	

88	*Wyatt Earp* (1994)	X
89	*Dead Man* (1994)	
90	*Lone Star* (1996)	
91	*Buffalo Soldiers* (1997) - TV Movie	X
92	*Two for Texas* (1998) - TV Movie	X
53 Westerns in the Filmography		
X = 22 Westerns Not in the Filmography		
X (pre-1939) = 17 Westerns Not Eligible to be in the Filmography Because They Predate 1939		

Appendix F - **Chronological Listing of 100 Major and Representative Western Films (Hausladen, 2003)**

#	*Western (*Release Year*)*	Not in the Filmography
1	*The Great Train Robbery* (1903)	X (pre-1939)
2	*Fighting Blood* (1911)	X (pre-1939)
3	*The Squaw Man* (1913)	X (pre-1939)
4	*The Outcasts of Poker Flat* (1919)	X (pre-1939)
5	*The Last of the Mohicans* (1920)	X (pre-1939)
6	*The Covered Wagon* (1923)	X (pre-1939)
7	*The Iron Horse* (1924)	X (pre-1939)
8	*Riders of the Purple Sage* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
9	*Tumbleweeds* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
10	*The Gold Rush* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
11	*The Vanishing American* (1926)	X (pre-1939)
12	*3 Bad Men* (1926)	X (pre-1939)
13	*The Virginian* (1929)	X (pre-1939)
14	*Billy the Kid* (1930)	X (pre-1939)
15	*Cimarron* (1931)	X (pre-1939)
16	*Wells Fargo* (1937)	X (pre-1939)
17	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
18	*Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939)	
19	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
20	*Union Pacific* (1939)	
21	*Jesse James* (1939)	
22	*The Westerner* (1940)	
23	*They Died with Their Boots On* (1941)	X
24	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
25	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
26	*Pursued* (1947)	
27	*Red River* (1948)	
28	*Fort Apache* (1948)	
29	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948)	
30	*3 Godfathers (1948)*	X
31	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
32	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	
33	*Winchester '73* (1950)	
34	*Wagon Master* (1950)	X
35	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	
36	*The Big Sky* (1952)	X
37	*High Noon* (1952)	
38	*Bend of the River* (1952)	
39	*Hondo* (1953)	
40	*Shane* (1953)	

41	*Vera Cruz* (1954)	
42	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	
43	*The Far Country* (1955)	
44	*The Man from Laramie* (1955)	
45	*The Searchers* (1956)	
46	*The Run of the Arrow* (1957)	X
47	*The Tall T* (1957)	
48	*The Left Handed Gun* (1958)	X
49	*Man of the West* (1958)	
50	*The Horse Soldiers* (1959)	X
51	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	
52	*The Hanging Tree* (1959)	X
53	*Comanche Station* (1960)	
54	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
55	*One-Eyed Jacks* (1961)	
56	*The Misfits* (1961)	
57	*Lonely are the Brave* (1962)	
58	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
59	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
60	*How the West Was Won* (1963)	
61	*Hud* (1963)	
62	*Cheyenne Autumn* (1964)	
63	*The Sons of Katie Elder* (1965)	
64	*The Professionals* (1966)	
65	*El Dorado* (1967)	
66	*Hang 'em High* (1968)	
67	*The Shooting* (1967)	X
68	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	
69	*True Grit* (1969)	
70	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	
71	*The Battle of Cable Hogue* (1970)	
72	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
73	*A Man Called Horse* (1970)	
74	*Soldier Blue* (1970)	X
75	*Two Mules for Sister Sara* (1970)	
76	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	
77	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	
78	*Ulzana's Raid* (1972)	
79	*High Plains Drifter* (1973)	
80	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* (1973)	
81	*Rooster Cogburn* (1975)	X
82	*Buffalo Bill and the Indians: Or Sitting Bull's History Lesson* (1976)	X
83	*The Missouri Breaks* (1976)	
84	The Outlaw Josey Wales (1976)	
85	*The Shootist* (1976)	
86	*Heaven's Gate* (1980)	
87	*The Long Riders* (1980)	X

88	*The Legend of the Lone Ranger* (1981)	X
89	*The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982)	X
90	*Pale Rider* (1985)	
91	*Silverado* (1985)	
92	*¡Three Amigos!* (1986)	X
93	*Young Guns* (1988)	
94	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
95	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
96	*The Last of the Mohicans* (1992)	
97	*Geronimo: An American Legend* (1993)	
98	*Wyatt Earp* (1994)	X
99	*Dead Man* (1994)	
100	*Lone Star* (1996)	
67 Westerns in the Filmography		
X = 17 Westerns Not in the Filmography		
X (pre-1939) = 16 Westerns Not Eligible to be in the Filmography Because they Predate 1939		

Appendix G - **Top 100 Western Films (1914-2001) – (Hoffmann, 2003)**

#	*Western (*Release Year*)*	Not in the Filmography
1	*High Noon* (1952)	
2	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
3	*Red River* (1948)	
4	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
5	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	
6	*Shane* (1953)	
7	*The Searchers* (1956)	
8	*3:10 to Yuma* (1957)	X
9	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	
10	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	
11	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
12	*The Westerner* (1940)	
13	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
14	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
15	*The Big Country* (1958)	
16	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
17	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
18	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
19	*Fort Apache* (1948)	
20	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
21	*The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970)	
22	*The Professionals* (1966)	
23	*Bend of the River* (1952)	
24	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	
25	*Warlock* (1959)	
26	*The Tin Star* (1957)	X
27	*Gunfight at the OK Corral* (1957)	
28	*Hombre* (1967)	
29	*The Shootist* (1976)	
30	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
31	*The Man from Laramie* (1955)	
32	*True Grit* (1969)	
33	*Hell's Hinges* (1916)	X (pre-1939)
34	*Rio Grande* (1950)	
35	*The Virginian* (1929)	X (pre-1939)
36	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969)	
37	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
38	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	
39	*The Far Country* (1955)	
40	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* (1973)	

41	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	
42	*The Iron Horse* (1924)	X (pre-1939)
43	*Yellow Sky* (1948)	X
44	*Last Train from Gun Hill* (1959)	X
45	*Vera Cruz* (1954)	
46	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	
47	*Colorado Territory* (1949)	X
48	*The Covered Wagon* (1923)	X (pre-1939)
49	*Tombstone* (1993)	
50	*The Scalphunters* (1968)	X
51	*El Dorado* (1967)	
52	*Monte Walsh* (1970)	
53	*Jesse James* (1939)	
54	*Major Dundee* (1965)	
55	*Will Penny* (1968)	
56	*The Plainsman* (1936)	X (pre-1939)
57	*Shenandoah* (1965)	X
58	*Hondo* (1953)	
59	*Ulzana's Raid* (1972)	
60	*Man Without a Star* (1955)	X
61	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	
62	*Cimarron* (1931)	X (pre-1939)
63	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	
64	*Union Pacific* (1939)	
65	*Dodge City* (1939)	
66	*Tumbleweeds* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
67	*Four Faces West* (1948)	X
68	*The Hanging Tree* (1959)	X
69	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1966)	
70	*Sergeant Rutledge* (1960)	X
71	*The Big Sky* (1952)	X
72	*Comanche Station* (1960)	
73	*They Died with Their Boots On* (1941)	X
74	*North of 36* (1924)	X (pre-1939)
75	*The Texas Rangers* (1936)	X (pre-1939)
76	*Cheyenne Autumn* (1964)	
77	*Winchester '73* (1950)	
78	*Western Union* (1941)	X
79	*Arizona* (1940)	X
80	*Ramrod* (1947)	X
81	*Pursued* (1947)	
82	*The Tall T* (1957)	
83	*The Apostle of Vengeance* (1916)	X (pre-1939)
84	*Broken Lance* (1954)	X
85	*The Unforgiven* (1960)	X
86	*Hour of the Gun* (1967)	X
87	*Seven Men From Now* (1956)	

88	*Canyon Passage* (1946)	X
89	*Duel in the Sun* (1946)	
90	*Wagon Master* (1950)	X
91	*Blood on the Moon* (1948)	X
92	*The Sheepman* (1958)	X
93	*In Old Arizona* (1929)	X (pre-1939)
94	*From Hell to Texas* (1958)	X
95	*Man of the West* (1958)	
96	*Cat Ballou* (1965)	
97	*Rancho Notorious* (1952)	X
98	*Pale Rider* (1985)	
99	*How the West Was Won* (1963)	
100	*The Last Hunt* (1956)	X
63 Westerns in the Filmography		
X = 22 Westerns Not in the Filmography		
X (pre-1939) = 17 Westerns Not Eligible to be in the Filmography Because They Predate 1939		

Appendix H - **AFI's 50 Western Nominees**

#	*Western* (Release Year)	Top 10 Finish
1	*The Iron Horse* (1924)	
2	*Tumbleweeds* (1925)	
3	*The Plainsman* (1936)	
4	*Stagecoach* (1939)	9
5	*Union Pacific* (1939)	
6	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
7	*The Westerner* (1940)	
8	*The Ox-bow Incident* (1943)	
9	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
10	*Duel in the Sun* (1946)	
11	*Fort Apache* (1948)	
12	*Red River* (1948)	5
13	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
14	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	
15	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	
16	*Rio Grande* (1950)	
17	*Bend of the River* (1952)	
18	*High Noon* (1952)	2
19	*Shane* (1953)	3
20	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	
21	*The Searchers* (1956)	1
22	*Giant* (1956)	
23	*The Tall T* (1957)	
24	*The Big Country* (1958)	
25	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	
26	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
27	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
28	*Lonely are the Brave* (1962)	
29	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
30	*How the West Was Won* (1963)	
31	*Cheyenne Autumn* (1964)	
32	*Major Dundee* (1965)	
33	*Cat Ballou* (1965)	10
34	*Will Penny* (1968)	
35	*True Grit* (1969)	
36	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	6
37	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	7
38	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
39	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	8
40	*The Last Picture Show* (1971)	
41	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	
42	*High Plains Drifter* (1973)	
43	*Blazing Saddles* (1974)	

44	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	
45	*The Shootist* (1976)	
46	*Pale Rider* (1985)	
47	*Silverado* (1985)	
48	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
49	*Unforgiven* (1992)	4
50	*Lone Star* (1996)	

Appendix I - **100 Greatest Western Movies of All-time – (American Cowboy Magazine, 2008)**

#	*Western (*Release Year*)*	Not in the Filmography
1	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969)	
2	*The Searchers* (1956)	
3	*Red River* (1948)	
4	*High Noon* (1952)	
5	*Shane* (1953)	
6	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
7	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	
8	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	
9	*Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955)	
10	*Greed* (1925)	**X** (pre-1939)
11	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
12	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	
13	*No Country for Old Men* (2007)	
14	*They Died with Their Boots On* (1941)	**X**
15	*Will Penny* (1968)	
16	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948)	
17	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	
18	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
19	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
20	*Monte Walsh* (1970)	
21	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	
22	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
23	*Lonely are the Brave* (1962)	
24	*Rancho Notorious* (1952)	**X**
25	*Fort Apache* (1948)	
25	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
25	*Rio Grande* (1950)	
26	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	
27	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	
28	*Winchester '73* (1950)	
29	*Hondo* (1953)	
30	*The Man from Laramie* (1955)	
31	*Ulzana's Raid* (1972)	
32	*Blood on the Moon* (1948)	**X**
33	*Major Dundee* (1965)	
34	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
35	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	
36	*Fistful of Dollars* (1967)	
36	*For a Few Dollars More* (1967)	
36	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1967)	

37	*Bend of the River* (1952)	
38	*Tumbleweeds* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
39	*Hombre* (1967)	
40	*Hud* (1963)	
41	*Don't Fence Me In* (1945)	X
42	*Dodge City* (1939)	
43	*The Big Sky* (1952)	X
44	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
45	*Open Range* (2003)	
46	*The Westerner* (1940)	
47	*Last of the Mohicans* (1992)	
48	*The Shootist* (1976)	
49	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
50	*The Professionals* (1966)	
51	*Tall in the Saddle* (1944)	X
52	*Ride Lonesome* (1959)	
53	*The Plainsman* (1936)	X (pre-1939)
54	*Cat Ballou* (1965)	
55	*The Tall T* (1957)	
56	*Jesse James* (1939)	
57	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
58	*Riders of the Purple Sage* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
59	*The Alamo* (1960)	
60	*The Far Country* (1955)	
61	*Three Godfathers (1935)*	X (pre-1939)
62	*Appaloosa* (2008)	
63	*Forty Guns* (1957)	X
64	*3:10 to Yuma* (1957)	X
65	*Gunfight at the OK Corral* (1957)	
66	*Sergeant Rutledge (1960)*	X
67	*Little Big Horn* (1951)	X
68	*Seven Men From Now* (1956)	
69	*Santa Fe Trail* (1940)	X
70	*The Paleface* (1948)	X
71	*Angel and the Badman* (1947)	X
72	*Duel in the Sun* (1946)	
73	*How the West Was Won* (1963)	
74	*The Big Trail* (1930)	X (pre-1939)
75	*Paint Your Wagon* (1969)	
76	*Tombstone* (1993)	
77	*Hearts of the West* (1975)	X
78	*Hang 'em High* (1968)	
79	*Ten Wanted Men* (1955)	X
80	*The Virginian* (1929)	X (pre-1939)
81	*Lone Star* (1996)	
82	*Run of the Arrow* (1957)	X
83	*The Vanishing American* (1926)	X (pre-1939)

84	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	
85	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	
86	*Cowboy* (1958)	**X**
87	*Barbarosa* (1982)	**X**
88	*One-Eyed Jacks* (1961)	
89	*Bad Company* (1972)	**X**
90	*Ramrod* (1947)	**X**
91	*The Long Riders* (1980)	**X**
92	*The Missing* (2003)	**X**
93	*Four Faces West* (1948)	**X**
94	*The Ballad of Little Jo* (1993)	**X**
95	*The Covered Wagon* (1923)	**X** (pre-1939)
96	*No Name on the Bullet* (1959)	**X**
97	*Brokeback Mountain* (2005)	
98	*Western Union* (1941)	**X**
99	*Support Your Local Sheriff!* (1969)	
100	*The Kentuckian* (1955)	**X**
68 Westerns in the Filmography		
X = 27 Westerns Not in the Filmography		
X (pre-1939) = 9 Westerns Not Eligible to be in the Filmography Because they Predate 1939		
John Ford's 'Cavalry' Trilogy counts as one entry (#25)		
Sergio Leone's 'Man with No Name' Trilogy counts as one entry (#36)		

Appendix J - **1001 Movies You Must See Before You Die – Westerns (Schneider, 2011a, 4th Edition)**

#	*Western* (Release Year)	Not in the Filmography
1	*The Great Train Robbery* (1903)	X (pre-1939)
2	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
3	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
4	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
5	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
6	*Red River* (1948)	
7	*The Paleface* (1948)	X
8	*Winchester '73* (1950)	
9	*Rio Grande* (1950)	
10	*The Big Sky* (1952)	X
11	*High Noon* (1952)	
12	*Shane* (1953)	
13	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	
14	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	
15	*Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954)	X
16	*Silver Lode* (1954)	X
17	*The Man From Laramie* (1955)	
18	*The Searchers* (1956)	
19	*Gunfight at the OK Corral* (1957)	
20	*Man of the West* (1958)	
21	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	
22	*Ride Lonesome* (1959)	
23	*One-Eyed Jacks* (1961)	
24	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
25	*Hud* (1963)	
26	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1967)	
27	*Hombre* (1967)	
28	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	
29	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969)	
30	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	X
31	*El Topo* (1970)	X
32	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
33	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	
34	*High Plains Drifter* (1973)	
35	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* (1973)	
36	*Blazing Saddles* (1974)	
37	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	
38	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
39	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
40	*Dead Man* (1995)	

41	*The Good, the Bad, the Weird* (2008)	X
42	*True Grit* (2010)	X (post-2009)
#	Other Genres in the Filmography	Genre
1	*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948)	Drama
2	*Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955)	Thriller
3	*Giant* (1956)	Drama
4	*The Last Picture Show* (1971)	Drama
5	*Lone Star* (1996)	Crime
6	*Brokeback Mountain* (2005)	Drama
7	*No Country for Old Men* (2007)	Drama

Appendix K - **The Rough Guide to Westerns – (Simpson, 2006)**

#	*Western* (Release Year)	pre-1939 (1)
1	*Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955)	
2	*The Beguiled* (1970)	X
3	*Blazing Saddles* (1974)	
4	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	
5	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
6	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
7	*Duel in the Sun* (1946)	
8	*El Dorado* (1967)	
9	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1967)	
10	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	
11	*Heller in Pink Tights* (1960)	X
12	*High Noon* (1952)	
13	*Hud* (1963)	
14	*Jesse James* (1939)	
15	*Johnny Guitar* (1954)	
16	*Little Big Man* (1970)	
17	*Lone Star* (1996)	
18	*Lonely are the Brave* (1962)	
19	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	
20	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
21	*Man of the West* (1958)	
22	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
23	*Monte Walsh* (1970)	
24	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
25	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	
26	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969)	
27	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	
28	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
29	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* (1973)	
30	*Pursued* (1947)	
31	*Red River* (1948)	
32	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
33	*The Searchers* (1956)	
34	*Shane* (1953)	
35	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
36	*The Shooting* (1966)	X
37	*The Shootist* (1976)	
38	*Son of Paleface* (1952)	X
39	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
40	*The Tall T* (1957)	

41	*Tell Them Willie Boy is Here* (1969)	**X**
42	*3:10 to Yuma* (1957)	**X**
43	*El Topo* (1971)	**X**
44	*True Grit* (1969)	
45	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
46	*Vera Cruz* (1954)	
47	*The Virginian* (1929)	**X** (pre-1939)
48	*Warlock* (1959)	
49	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	
41 Westerns in the Filmography		
X = 7 Westerns Not in the Filmography		
X (pre-1939) = 1 Western Not Eligible to be in the Filmography Because it Predates 1939		

Appendix L - **Filmgoers' Guide to Great Westerns**

Filmography (Hughes, 2008)

#	*Western (*Release Year*)*	Not in the Filmography
1	*The Great Train Robbery* (1903)	X (pre-1939)
2	*Hell's Hinges* (1916)	X (pre-1939)
3	*Shooting Straight* (1917)	X (pre-1939)
4	*The Covered Wagon* (1923)	X (pre-1939)
5	*The Iron Horse* (1924)	X (pre-1939)
6	*Tumbleweeds* (1925)	X (pre-1939)
7	*3 Bad Men* (1926)	X (pre-1939)
8	*The Big Trail* (1930)	X (pre-1939)
9	*Cimarron* (1931)	X (pre-1939)
10	*Stagecoach* (1939)	
11	*Destry Rides Again* (1939)	
12	*The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943)	
13	*My Darling Clementine* (1946)	
14	*Duel in the Sun* (1946)	
15	*Pursued* (1947)	
16	*Fort Apache* (1948)	
17	*Red River* (1948)	
18	*The Paleface* (1948)	X
19	*Yellow Sky (1948)*	X
20	*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)	
21	*Broken Arrow* (1950)	
22	*The Gunfighter* (1950)	
23	*Rio Grande* (1950)	
24	*Wagon Master* (1950)	X
25	*Winchester '73* (1950)	
26	*Bend of the River* (1952)	
27	*High Noon* (1952)	
28	*Rancho Notorious* (1952)	X
29	*Son of Paleface* (1952)	X
30	*Hondo* (1953)	
31	*The Naked Spur* (1953)	
32	*Shane* (1953)	
33	*Apache* (1954)	X
34	*Vera Cruz* (1954)	
35	*Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955)	
36	*The Far Country* (1955)	
37	*The Man from Laramie* (1955)	
38	*The Last Wagon* (1956)	X
39	*The Searchers* (1956)	
40	*Seven Men from Now* (1956)	

41	*Decision at Sundown* (1957)	X
42	*Run of the Arrow* (1957)	X
43	*The Tall T* (1957)	
44	3:10 to Yuma (1957)	X
45	*Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* (1957)	
46	*Forty Guns (1957)*	X
47	*The Big Country* (1958)	
48	*Man of the West* (1958)	
49	*Ride Lonesome* (1959)	
50	*Rio Bravo* (1959)	
51	*Warlock* (1959)	
52	*The Alamo* (1960)	
53	*Comanche Station* (1960)	
54	*The Magnificent Seven* (1960)	
55	*The Comancheros* (1961)	X
56	*The Deadly Companions* (1961)	X
57	*The Last Sunset* (1961)	X
58	*One-Eyed Jacks* (1961)	
59	*How the West Was Won* (1963)	
60	*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962)	
61	*Ride the High Country* (1962)	
62	*Two Rode Together* (1962)	X
63	*Cheyenne Autumn* (1964)	
64	*Fistful of Dollars* (1964)	
65	*Rio Conchos* (1964)	X
66	*Cat Ballou* (1965)	
67	*For a Few Dollars More* (1965)	
68	*Major Dundee* (1965)	
69	*The Sons of Katie Elder* (1965)	
70	*Duel at Diablo* (1966)	X
71	*The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1966)	
72	*The Professionals* (1966)	
73	*The Shooting* (1966)	X
74	*El Dorado* (1967)	
75	*Hang 'Em High* (1967)	
76	*Hombre* (1967)	
77	*Hour of the Gun* (1967)	X
78	*The War Wagon* (1967)	X
79	*Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968)	
80	*Will Penny* (1968)	
81	*Support Your Local Sheriff!* (1969)	
82	*The Wild Bunch* (1969)	
83	*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969)	
84	*True Grit* (1970)	
85	*The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970)	
86	*Chisum* (1970)	X
87	*Little Big Man* (1970)	

88	*A Man Called Horse* (1970)	
89	*Rio Lobo* (1970)	X
90	*Soldier Blue* (1970)	X
91	*Two Mules for Sister Sara* (1970)	
92	*Big Jake* (1971)	X
93	*The Hired Hand* (1971)	X
94	*McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971)	
95	*Support Your Local Gunfighter* (1971)	X
96	*The Skin Game* (1971)	X
97	*High Plains Drifter* (1973)	
98	*Jeremiah Johnson* (1972)	
99	*Ulzana's Raid* (1972)	
100	*The Life and Times of Judge Roy Bean* (1972)	X
101	*Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* (1973)	
102	*Blazing Saddles* (1974)	
103	*The Missouri Breaks* (1976)	
104	*The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976)	
105	*The Shootist* (1976)	
106	*Heaven's Gate* (1980)	
107	*The Long Riders* (1980)	X
108	*Pale Rider* (1985)	
109	*Dances with Wolves* (1990)	
110	*Unforgiven* (1992)	
111	*Tombstone* (1993)	
112	*Wyatt Earp* (1994)	X
113	*Dead Man* (1994)	
114	*The Quick and the Dead* (1995)	X
115	*The Jack Bull* (1999)	X
116	*The Missing* (2003)	X
117	*Open Range* (2003)	
75 Westerns in the Filmography		
X = 33 Westerns Not in the Filmography		
X (pre-1939) = 9 Westerns Not Eligible to be in the Filmography Because they Predate 1939		

Appendix M - **U.S. Military Forts – 1819-1895 (Beck & Haase, 1989)**